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Current Ideas respecting  
Slavery and Secession in  
Illinois in 1860 & 1861

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CURRENT IDEAS RESPECTING SLAVERY AND  
SECESSION IN ILLINOIS IN 1860 AND 1861

BY

ERNEST LESLEY BOST

Ph. B. Greenville College, 1908

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THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

IN HISTORY

IN

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

1909







UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS  
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

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I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY

*Ernest Lesley Bost*

ENTITLED *Current Ideas respecting Slavery  
and Secession in Illinois in 1860 and 1861.*

BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

DEGREE OF

*Master of Arts in History*

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on

Final Examination







C O N T E N T S.

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C H A P T E R I.

## INTRODUCTION.

A very limited amount of material has been collected in Illinois for the period of 1860 and 1861, relative to the subject of slavery and secession. There is material, but it is fragmentary, widely distributed and difficult to collect. The reasons for this condition are many, but I shall only attempt to mention a few of them. First of all, scarcely any one in the State, until within the last ten years, has appreciated the historical value of the records, the documents, the letters and the newspaper files, and no suitable place has been prepared for depositing them. In some county seats where I have gone to investigate, I have found that the ordinary goods box served as the only vault for these valuable papers. Careless, ignorant, and unappreciative county and state officers have treated them as kindling or ordinary waste paper. This may be appreciated more when I say that the vote of some counties for the fall of 1860 even, cannot be found. Again in some parts of the State where the contest was most intense, men for either personal or political reasons have, since the War, deliberately destroyed almost completely, all traces of beliefs and conditions that existed during that period. Thus after nearly fifty years of this kind of vandalism, the records of the people's ideas on slavery and secession in the State, are comparatively scarce. Then too there are some who possess letters, affidavits and pamphlets which they consider would add nothing to their own popularity or to the happiness of others concerned, should they submit the same for inspection. Thus from these general statements can, perhaps, be appreciated some of the difficulties attendant upon the collection of source material on this subject.





On the other hand we have certain tangible phases of the slavery and secession question brought to our mind from a study of the speeches, writings and letters of the leading politicians, speculators and professional men. The politician addressed himself to the public in general and in indefinite terms, while the lawyers and writers made hair splitting distinctions in expressing what they believed to be the character of the paramount issue. The speculators did not say much on either side, but their views were most frequently registered by the character of their investments. The other class to be considered is the mass of the people or the ordinary voter. Whether his limited knowledge, prejudice and disposition to follow after his political party, regardless of what it might stand for, caused him to take sides and express like views, it is difficult to say. Then again when the entire country was at so high a tension and when momentous questions were suggesting themselves in rapid succession it is hardly fair to credit, at par, the statements and ideas that were expressed by this class, nor should they be discounted too heavily. A distinction should be made between the classes of ideas as to their historical value, but "Current Ideas" must include the ideas of all these classes of society.

In this study it is a part of my purpose to show how, at the very crucial period of 1860 and 1861 the State was taking careful notice of all that was transpiring in the other states and at the Federal Capital. These things played no small role in shaping the opinions of the people of the State on both sides of the question. To show secondly that the position of Illinois was extremely important from the geographical, political and commercial points of view and how the ideas in the local communities were shaped to coincide with their particular interests. And finally to stimulate a desire for a more intense



study of the ideas respecting slavery and secession in the border States, in order to determine how much encouragement and assistance the South really received from these States.





## C H A P T E R II.

### REVIEW OF NATIONAL CONDITIONS 1859-1861.

Before entering upon a specific treatment of the subject of slavery and secession in Illinois, let us consider briefly the status of national affairs which were likely to affect the people of Illinois relative to the subject. It is wholly unthinkable to expect that the ideas of the society of any one of the States should be unaffected by the political movements of the Nation as a whole. Especially was this true in the case of the slavery question or any related issue. Between 1850 and 1860 the slavery and secession issue had been dragged into every important question affecting the industry, commerce and National expansion of the entire Nation.

From the financial standpoint the country was in an unsettled state, just coming out of the great financial depression of 1857. The banks were on a fluctuating and unstable basis and the currency was subject to depreciation outside of the particular State in which it was issued. The South, with the invention of the cotton gin, became commercially superior and with the increased demand for cotton, the slave came to have a money value. There was an alluring opportunity for the northern merchants to collect the products from the North and sell them to the South and in turn buy cotton and send it to the New England States to be manufactured. European merchants were also anxious to carry on trade relations with the South. Thus at the beginning of this period, judging from the commercial point of view, the South seemed to have precedence over the North. Bryant realized that the commercial interests of the country were demanding the primary attention of the people of the North, when he wrote, that the "Union Savers"

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include a pretty large body of commercial men. As long as commerce was good there was no distrust of the Nation's credit and there was no marked decline in Federal bonds until 1861 when they fell to 80<sup>1</sup> and never rose above par during that year. This condition had its effect on the mon<sup>ey</sup><sub>^</sub>ed interests notwithstanding they may have been loyal unionists.

The ethical side of the slavery question was gradually being emphasized through the agencies of the church and the Abolition writers and speakers. In the North the feeling was growing, that slavery was a sin while in the South the institution was being considered more and more as divine. The South was quite willing that the North should hold their view of slavery, but strongly opposed their trying to force them to the same conclusion. I think Congressman Brown of Mississippi, expressed the feeling of the South when he said, "for myself I regard slavery as a great blessing, religiously, morally, socially and politically." It is quite probable that the great majority of the people, North and South, regarded slavery as no great wrong morally until after the church in the North had declared it to be a sin, and then the people both within the church and without it began taking sides, with the North or South, in proportion as they interpreted slavery to be morally wrong. The church then had its part in shaping the opinions of the public, for congregations were divided and worshiped in distinctly separate places and taught a distinctly different doctrine regarding slavery.

The greatest factor in crystalizing ideas was, perhaps, the maneuvers of the various political parties and the principles set forth in

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1. Merchants and Bankers Almanac. 1863. Page 82.

2. Congressional Globe. Part I, page 258.



the platforms upon which the leaders of such parties proposed to stand, in soliciting the people's support. Could it have been possible to have constructed platforms so as to have permitted the people to vote directly for or against slavery and secession, the question would not have been so difficult. But designing politicians would not permit of that. There were differences which seemed irreconcilable, among the constituents of both the leading parties. These difficulties were increased by conflicting opinions as to what was the Constitutional right of Congress to intervene in the extension of slavery or the recovery of runaway slaves. There was dissatisfaction with the decisions of the highest Court in regard to the repeal of the Missouri compromise, the decision of the Dred Scott case and the fugitive Slave Law. Among the Democrats there were conflicting opinions arising out of the indefinite policy of Buchanan's Administration and the Republicans were undecided as to the advisability of holding, that Congress had the right to control slavery in the territories. All these things made platform building a most difficult task. Time, however, forced a decision. At the Democratic convention at Charleston we see that party divided and adjourn without making a platform and of course without nominating a presidential candidate, but they raised questions which were debated by the people until the election in November 1860. The Republicans were more successful in smothering their differences in the Chicago Convention. Yet the people were very far from being unanimous on either side. This is most clearly shown from the popular vote for president in 1860 of which Lincoln received 1,857,610; Douglas, 1,291,574; Breckinridge, 850,082; and Bell, 646,124, which shows that Lincoln received 930,170 votes less than his opponents. Now that the election was over and there still existed so much discontent, the





slavery and secession questions were more vital than ever. The Republican victory was sufficient to win many to the Union cause, but there was much to encourage the defeated party. Both houses of Congress could be controlled by them. Seven of the nine Supreme Judges were Democrats and the South was, on the whole, prosperous and gaining strength very rapidly.

The South was really preparing to carry out her plans of secession which she declared she would do in the event of the election of a "Black Republican." South Carolina seceded on the twentieth of December 1860 and by the first part of February five states had seceded. Now that both North and South persisted in holding out for their principles, compromise was found to be impossible. On this point Mr. Crawford of Georgia said, "to talk of compromise upon this subject of slavery is worse than folly. This question has resolved itself at least <sup>1</sup> into a question of slavery and disunion, or no slavery and Union." With these conditions prevailing, peaceable separation was conceded to be impossible.

The next event which had a great effect on the ideas of the people was the firing on Fort Sumter on the twelfth of April 1861. By this act thousands of liberal Democrats and Republicans were immediately transformed into strong supporters of the Union. Judging from the nature of the Inaugural addresses of Presidents Lincoln and Davis, the call for troops was the next thing to be expected, but still many men of the North had not yet decided which cause they would espouse. On the sixteenth of February 1860, Mr. Holmes wrote a letter to Mr. Motley in which he said, "the uncertainty of opinions of men, I had almost said principles, from the unpracticable abolitionist as bent on total

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separation from the South, as Carolina is on secession from the North, to the Hunker or submissionist or whatever you choose to call the wretch who would sacrifice everything and beg the South's pardon for offending it, you find all shades of opinions in our streets." People who lived in the extreme North or extreme South had arrived at pretty definite conclusions long before this succession of events, but those of the border and neighboring northern states were affected one way or the other by each of the events above cited.



# C H A P T E R III.

## CONDITIONS IN ILLINOIS AFFECTING THE IDEAS OF THE PEOPLE CONCERNING SLAVERY.

The geographical position of Illinois has had a great deal to do with involving it so deeply in the question of slavery and secession. In length the State extends through 5°34' of latitude or 388 miles. At the north it lies in the same latitude as Boston while at the extreme South it is in the latitude of Richmond and the difference in the average temperature between the two extremes is eleven degrees.<sup>1</sup> The State is 212 miles wide, with an area of 55,405 square miles. Illinois is surrounded by five states, two of which held slaves in 1860, Kentucky which had 225,483 and Missouri with 114,931.<sup>2</sup>

Illinois was the most resourceful State carved out of the North West Territory. In 1860 there were 13,096,374 acres of improved and 7,815,615 acres of unimproved farm land valued at \$408,944,033.<sup>3</sup> There were 40,000 square miles of coal lands in the State, although of the less than 1,000,000 tons of coal which was consumed in the State in 1860, more than one-half of it was imported.<sup>4</sup> On account of this extremely valuable asset of agricultural land, the State had risen to the fourth place in population and wealth.<sup>5</sup> It was almost girdled by navigable lakes and rivers. Fifty-two of the one hundred and two counties were touched by these streams which flowed south and consequently the produce was being transported by boats to southern markets.<sup>6</sup> The amounts of the farm products, were almost fabulous, for such a comparatively new State, and there was a great demand for better and a

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1. Annual Cyclopedia, 1861. Vol. I, page 367.
2. Eighth Census of the United States. Vol. III.
3. Annual Cyclopedia, 1861. Vol. I, pages 34-37.
4. Chicago Press and Tribune. December, 29th, 1861.
5. Moses, Illinois-Historical and Statistical. Vol. II, page 628.
6. R.P. Porter, The West. Page 157.





more rapid means of transit. There were in 1860 twenty-three lines of railroad, varying in length from four to seven hundred and thirty-seven miles, and an aggregate of 2,912 miles. Most of these roads connected with Chicago and other down State towns. The Illinois Central which was completed in 1856 was the only railroad connection between extreme southern towns and counties and the northern part of the State. Some idea may be had as to the amount of traffic, when the receipts from this road alone, in 1859, amounted to \$2,114,448 and this was \$179,517 less than in 1857.<sup>2</sup> Up to 1858 the most of the trade had been going to Cairo, St Louis and Cincinnati as they were more accessible markets for a larger number of the producers, but by 1861 it was quite difficult to determine whether a larger percent of the trade was going north or south.<sup>3</sup>

As to the manufacturing capacity of the State, it had reached no great proportions, but it was rapidly increasing. There were at this time however 4,286 manufacturing establishments with an invested capital of \$27,548,563. They were annually consuming \$35,558,782 worth of raw material and employing 22,489 men at an annual cost of \$7,637,921.<sup>4</sup> Of the twenty-eight leading occupations in the State, in which there were one thousand or more employees, the farmers constituted the largest number, 153,646. It is interesting to note that at this time there were 52,469 common laborers and 25,646 servants.<sup>5</sup>

In considering the financial condition of the State it is reasonable to conclude that those who held southern securities would be affected at least to the extent of the money consideration. In 1860, before the crash of secession came, there were 110 solvent State banks,

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1. United States Census, 1860. Volume on Miscellaneous, page 330.
2. Hunt's Merchants Magazine. Vol. XLII.
3. Annual Cyclopaedia. Vol. V, page 367.
4. United States Census. Volume on Manufacturing, page 106.
5. ibid, page 104.



with an average circulation, of \$12,320,694, founded upon \$9,527,500 worth of securities issued by Missouri, Tennessee, Virginia, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Kentucky, and by 1861 they had depreciated \$2,643,550.<sup>1</sup> Only \$595,500 worth of these southern securities were held by banks north of a line parallel with Springfield, while all of the \$1,289,854 worth of Ohio, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota and New York securities were held by these banks.<sup>2</sup> These conditions show, in a measure, why part of the State favored the South and part the North. The State debt was, on the thirtieth of November 1861, \$10,346,017.06.<sup>3</sup>

The total population of Illinois in 1860 was 1,711,951, of which number only 706,925 were native born Illinoisans.<sup>4</sup> There were immigrants from thirty-eight States and from at least thirty-four different foreign countries.<sup>5</sup> The following tables show the birthplace of those who had immigrated to Illinois:

State of birth.	Number.
Alabama.	1,565
Connecticut.	11,192
Indiana.	62,010
Iowa.	4,948
Kentucky	60,193
Maine.	7,475
Maryland.	10,476
Massachusetts.	19,053
Michigan.	5,516
Missouri.	12,394
New Hampshire.	7,868
New Jersey.	15,474
New York.	121,508
North Carolina.	13,597
Ohio.	131,887
Pennsylvania.	83,625
Rhode Island.	2,252
South Carolina.	3,223
Tennessee.	39,112

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1. Reports to the General Assembly, 1861. Vol. I, pages 102-286.
2. Ibid, pages 284-286.
3. Ibid, page 427.
4. United States Census Report. Volume on Population, 1860. Page 104.
5. Ibid.





State of birth.	Number.
Vermont.	18,253
Virginia.	32,978
Wisconsin.	4,771

The numbers from other States represented in the Illinois population varied from 31 from Oregon to 988 from Louisiana.

Country of birth.	Number.
British America.	20,132
France.	9,493
England.	41,745
Germany.	130,804
Holland.	1,416
Ireland.	87,573
Norway.	4,891
Scotland.	10,540
Sweden.	6,470
Switzerland.	5,748
Wales.	1,528

The remaining twenty-three nationalities varied from 3 from China to 712 from Denmark.

There were 7,628 negroes and mulattoes, but they were more numerous in the larger towns and cities than in the rural districts. The interests of so heterogeneous a population were certain to vindicate themselves repeatedly during the period of 1860 and 1861. Governor Yates referred to this condition in his inaugural, when he said, "as to our own State we are closely allied in origin, in kindred, in civilization and in destiny with many of the best of both the free and slave States and though young in years we have learned to be proud of our origin and our neighbors and sister States." It can be readily seen that citizens whose relatives, property and financial interests were in the slave States, would sympathize with the South.

In the promotion of education, the State was no less active than in other lines. In 1860 there were being maintained 9,162 common schools, 590 private schools, 294 graded schools, 18 colleges and 854 libraries, containing 244,394 volumes. Besides these there were the daily and weekly papers and magazines and other periodicals, so that

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1. Inaugural Address of Governor Yates-Life, by L.W. Reavis, page 23.
2. Report to the General Assembly, 1861. Vol. II, page 87.
3. United States Census, 1860. Volume on Mortality and Miscellaneous,



all who desired, could acquire at least, a meager knowledge of affairs. The daily papers in the State in 1860 issued 38,100 copies and the weekly papers 282,997 copies annually.<sup>1</sup> But in the face of all this, there were 59,364 illiterates in the State of whom only 19,616 were foreigners and 1,327 were free colored.<sup>2</sup> It was the illiterate and ignorant classes who were misled by unprincipled men in regard to certain issues which grew out of the slavery and secession question and were incited to commit unreasonable and unjustifiable acts.\*

We now come to the consideration of the early precedents of slavery in Illinois. Notwithstanding Mr. Trumbull said, "that slavery as such never existed in the State,<sup>3</sup> and although the ordinance of 1787 prohibited it, yet we know, that traffic in slave property did exist in Illinois even as late as 1853.<sup>4</sup> The popular vote for Governor in 1824 showed that there was a small majority that was unwilling for Illinois to be made a slave territory.<sup>5</sup> So that in considering slavery and secession in Illinois, it is to be clearly understood, to begin with, that Illinoisans did not desire slavery introduced in the State, but that the subject applies only to how the people felt towards the South who favored and the North who opposed slavery and secession.\*\*

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\* Judge Douglas spoke of this class to a friend upon leaving Congress in 1854 when he said, "I shall be assailed by demagogues and fanatics there (in Ill.) without stint or moderation. Every opprobrious epithet will be applied to me. I shall probably be hung in effigy in many places." 6 This very thing did occur.

\*\* Mr. Trumbull speaks of the feeling in this respect. He said, "the State in which I reside has in it hundreds and thousands and tens of thousands of people from the slave holding states. They want no slavery, and I suppose if the question were to be submitted to the citizens of Illinois tomorrow, whether slavery should be introduced there, although there are thousands of voters from Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee and North Carolina, I do not suppose it would get one vote in 10,000 in the State. 7

1. U.S. Census, 1860. Vol. on Mortality and Miscel. Page 322.

2. ibid, page 508. 6. Sparks, Ill. Hist. Collections, page 5.

3. Cong. Globe. No. I, page 919. 7. Cong. Globe, 1860. No. I, page 39.

4. Harris, Negro Servitude in Ill. P. 206.

5. Report of Sec. of State, 1822.





The statutes of 1845 discriminated very specifically against the negro. He was excluded by these statutes from the courts, either as a plaintiff or defendant, and in no case whatsoever could he serve as a witness.<sup>1</sup> Slaves committing offences were punished as in the South, by whipping.<sup>2</sup> The statutes of Illinois recognized the right to hold slaves and the right of slave masters to recover their slave property, in case of runaways,<sup>3</sup> and this was not all, for those responsible in any way for the escaping slaves were subject to a penitentiary sentence of not less than one not more than seven years.<sup>4</sup> No slave was allowed to be on any other plantation than his owners, without permission,<sup>5</sup> upon pain of receiving ten stripes on his bare back. On the question of free negroes in the State, the statutes were even more exacting. They specified that no black or mulatto person should be in this State, until such person shall produce to the County Commissioners' Court, where he or she is desirous of settling, a certificate of his or her freedom. Which certificate shall be duly authenticated in the same manner that is required to be done, in cases arising under the acts and judicial proceedings of other states. And until such person shall give bond, with sufficient security, to the people of this State, for the use of the proper county, in the penal sum of \$1000, conditioned that such person will not, at any time, become a charge to said county of this State as a poor person and that such person shall at all times, demean himself in strict conformity with the laws of this State, that now or hereafter may be enacted, the solvency of said security shall be approved by said clerk. The clerk shall file the said bond

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1. Laws of Illinois, 1845. Page 237.
2.       ibid, page 389.
3.       ibid, page 154.
4.       ibid, page 180.
5.       ibid, page 159.
6.       ibid, page 160.





and if said bond in any condition thereof be broken the whole penalty shall become forfeited. The clerk shall also make an entry of the certificate so produced and endorse a certificate on the original certificate so produced, stating the time the said bond was approved and filed, and the name and description of the person producing the same; after which it shall be lawful for such negro to reside in the State, and any not having such a certificate shall be considered as runaway slaves. No social privileges were allowed the slaves among themselves\* and they were of course excluded from all social relations with other people. Negroes were further legislated against by statute forbidding any person to release them in this State on pain of a \$100 fine for each one released, and any slave found ten miles from the tenement of his master could be taken by the justice of the peace and whipped not exceeding thirty-five stripes. A fine of \$500 was imposed on any person who would harbor or secrete any negro slave of the State or any other State, or prevent the lawful owner from taking them in a lawful manner. This was the character of the Black Laws of Illinois which were not observed to the letter in 1860, but public opinion was not strong enough to force the Legislature to repeal them.

On the side of the Constitution there is another precedent. In 1860 the people of Illinois were still under the Constitution of 1848 and continued so until 1870. The Constitution declared that all men

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\* eg. Slaves were not allowed to meet together in any capacity, off their master's plantation and if any master allowed as many as three negroes to assemble in one of his buildings to dance, he was subject to a fine. 8

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1. Laws of Illinois, 1845. Page 387.

2. ibid, page 388.

3. ibid, page 389.

4. ibid, page 353.

5. ibid, page 389.

6. ibid, page 390.

7. ibid, page 180.

8. Revised Statutes, 1845. Page 389.





were created equal and endowed with the inalienable rights of life,<sup>1</sup> liberty and the pursuit of happiness and of acquiring property, but from the other clauses of the instrument it is clear that the negro was absolutely excluded, socially and politically. He can scarcely be said, in any way, to be included in the phrase, 'all men'. It is true that the Constitution declared that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude should exist in this State except as punishment for crime<sup>2</sup> whereof the party should have been duly convicted. But the negro was<sup>3</sup> denied the right of suffrage,<sup>4</sup> he did not pay poll tax, nor could he enter the militia.<sup>5</sup> It was within the power of the Legislature to prohibit free persons of color from migrating to and settling in the State,<sup>6</sup> and to prevent the owners of slaves from bringing them into the State for the purpose of setting them free. Nor was the negro counted in<sup>7</sup> apportioning the number of state representatives and senators. There was a desire to change from this kind of a Constitution, but the draft which was made by the members of the Constitutional Convention of 1862, contained no marked changes and of course it was rejected when submitted to a popular vote.

Illinois was becoming important in national politics. The State was divided into nine congressional districts in 1860. Four of them were represented by Republicans, four by Democrats and one by a Whig, but in 1861 the State was redistricted and thirteen districts were formed. The United States senatorial honors were likewise divided between the two dominant parties. There was quite a large number of

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1. Constitution of Illinois, 1848. Article XIII, section 16.

2. *ibid*, Article XIII, section 16.

3. *ibid*, Art. VI, sec. 1.

4. *ibid*, Art. IX, sec. 1.

5. *ibid*, Art. VIII, sec. 1.

6. *ibid*, Art. XIV.

7. *ibid*, Art. III, sec. 6.



able politicians in the State who were to distinguish themselves in the next few years. The political contest which attracted so much attention throughout the country in 1860 really began in Illinois in 1858, between two of her favored sons, Abraham Lincoln and Stephen Arnold Douglas, in the race for the United States senatorship. Douglas was elected, but there are two things to be noted in connection with that campaign. First it showed, from the decrease in the Democratic vote, that the majority of the people favored the political revolution which was taking place in the State. Second, the speeches of Mr. Lincoln in the joint debates popularized him in the eyes of the nation and made it possible for him to become a presidential candidate in 1860. In the fall of 1858 the head of the Republican party ticket received 121,430, while the Douglas Democrats polled 121,609 and the Buchanan Democrats counted only 5,071 votes.

There was perhaps no one business enterprise which exerted so strong a political influence in the State, over the elections of 1858 and 1860, as the Illinois Central Railroad. The stockholders of this road were northern men and all the employees were Union men. When this road was built, in 1856, the north-eastern part of the State was very sparsely settled, but before 1860 this section was settled by people in full sympathy with the North.

Had Seward been a little less anti-slavery in expression, he would no doubt have been nominated at the Chicago Convention. But so essential to success was the political influence of Illinois, that Lincoln was nominated instead. Up to 1860 Illinois had never given an electoral vote to any other than a Democratic candidate for president. The Abolitionists of the State and most of the Whig element went with the Republican party. On the other hand, the Democrats divided their

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vote among Douglas, Bell, the Constitutional Union nominee, and Breckenridge, the southern Democratic nominee. The leaders knew that the people were almost evenly divided. In the final vote in 1860 Illinois gave Lincoln 172,161; Douglas 160,215; Bell 5,015; and Breckenridge 2,332<sup>1</sup> votes. This showed the Republicans to be victors by 4,599 majority.

In the election of State officers the Republicans were equally successful, in 1860 in electing Richard Yates as Governor. They also held the majority both in the House and Senate. But nevertheless the defeated minority was too large to be disregarded. It is this minority that gives rise to the study of the subject of slavery and secession in Illinois.

When the Legislature met, in regular session in 1860 at Springfield, the members appreciated the condition in the State and with an ardent desire for the preservation of the Union and the restoration of peace, they entered their protest against any action of the General Assembly which would deny to almost one-half of the people of the State a representation in a conference, the result of which involved not mere party rights but a common destiny.<sup>2</sup> They further resolved "that it is the promoting of patriotism and the dictate of wisdom to make an earnest effort to save the Union by conciliation and concession and therefore in the spirit of compromise we are willing to accept the amendments to the Constitution proposed in the United States Senate by Senator Douglass or by Crittenden or the Border State proposition or any other by which harmony may be restored. We entreat the Federal Government and Seceeding States to withhold military power.<sup>3</sup> We deny the constitutional right of any State to secede. On the second

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1. Report of the Secretary of State, 1860.

2. Senate Journal, 1861. Page 227.

3. *ibid*, page 361.



of February 1861 Governor Yates appointed five commissioners as delegates to represent Illinois in the Peace Conference which convened at Washington.<sup>1</sup> When compromise had failed and war was inevitable, the Legislature resolved that "the faith, credit and resources of the State, both in men and money, be pledged to any amount and every extent which the Federal Government may demand, to subdue the rebellion, to enforce the laws, to protect the lives and property of the people and to maintain inviolate the Constitution and the sovereignty of the Nation!"<sup>2</sup> They even went further and passed "an act to prepare the State of Illinois to protect its own territory, repel invasion and render efficient and prompt assistance to the United States if demanded." This act<sup>3</sup> passed the Senate by a vote of 14 to 11.

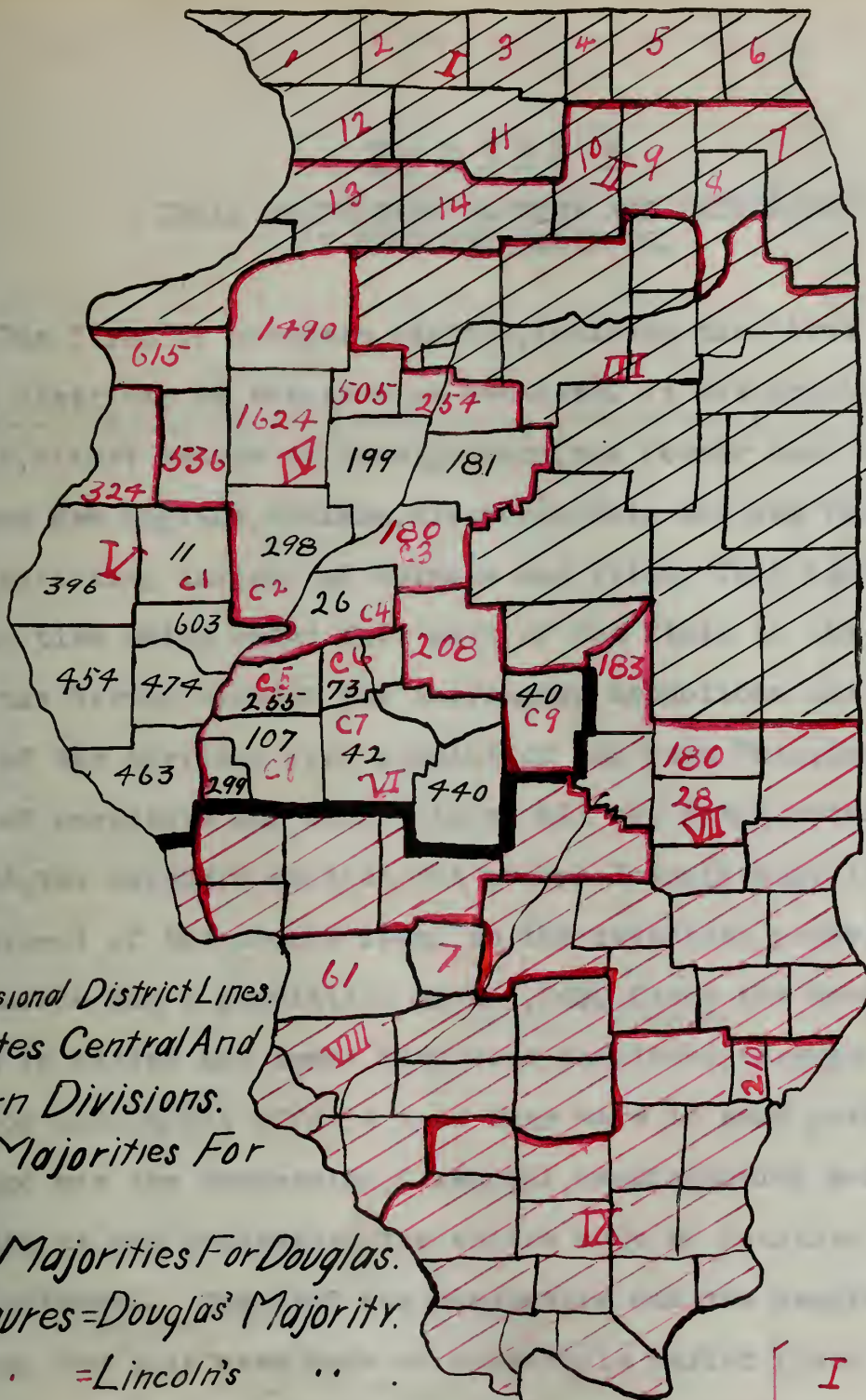
While these statements show the general feeling of the people of the State it seems best, because of the different community interests, to divide the State into three divisions, the northern, the central and the southern, and discuss the "Current Ideas" of each division separately. This division is made on the basis of the presidential vote of 1860 and it will be further justified by the ideas of the majority of the people on slavery and secession as far as they show that they were based on ethnic and economic grounds. The map on the following page shows the divisions as they will be treated.

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1. Senate Journal, 1861. Page 286.
2.       ibid, page 56. (Extra Session)
3.       ibid, page 40.







— Congressional District Lines.

— Separates Central And Southern Divisions.

/// Large Majorities For Lincoln.

/// Large Majorities For Douglas.

Black Figures = Douglas' Majority.

Red .. = Lincoln's ..

I-----IX = Congressional Districts.

Countries Numbered, 1-----14 = "The Fourteen Northern Counties"

Countries Numbered, C1-----C9 = Counties In Which The Campaign of 1860 Was Most Acute.

Section I

Section II

Section III

I

II

III

IV

V, Except Calhoun Co.

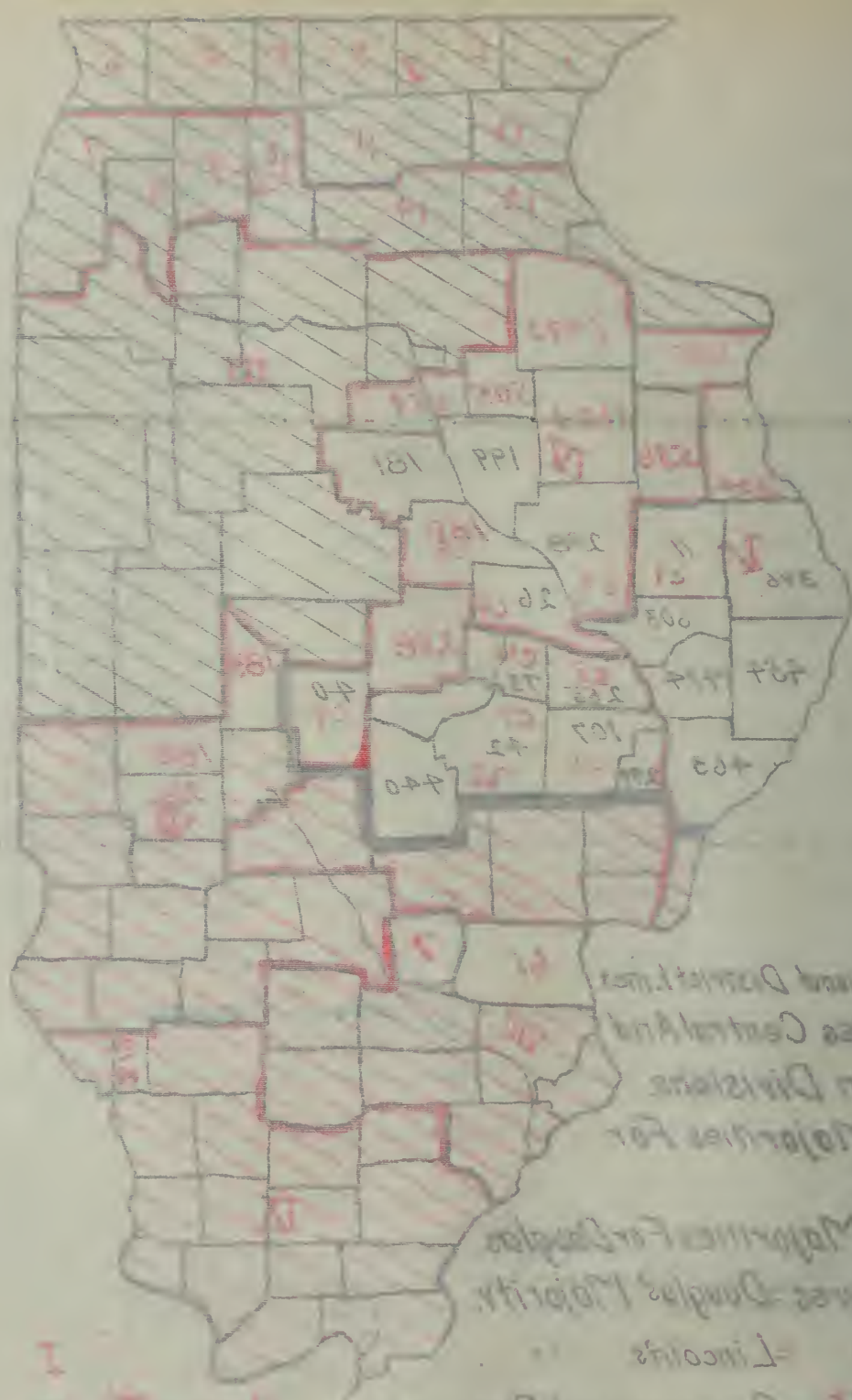
VI, To Line

VII, Two Cos. of: Logan + Macon.

Remainder of, V, VI, + VII.

VII, + IX.





Which The Company of 1800 Was  
First Made

Order Numbered: C-1 - Counter

## C H A P T E R V.

### IDEAS RESPECTING SLAVERY AND SECESSION IN NORTHERN ILLINOIS.

The first or northern section, included the first three congressional districts or twenty-nine counties. It was populated by immigrants, either native or foreign born, the former came almost exclusively from New England, Indiana, Wisconsin, Ohio and New York, and the latter consisting largely of Germans and Irish. This fact was one of the strong ties which bound this part of the State to the Union cause. By 1860 the German element was thoroughly Republican and the greater part of the American born population had been Whig, through a long line of ancestors and since almost all the Whigs voted with the Republicans, the northern section was overwhelmingly Republican. About sixty percent of the people lived in the seventeen prosperous towns. Chicago alone had a population of 109,260<sup>1</sup>. Since the most of the people lived in cities and towns they were permitted, through the newspapers, to know more about affairs than they were in some parts of the State. Chicago was the commercial, financial, manufacturing and political centre and as she progressed the entire body of counties were more or less advanced. The land was productive and the people energetic, but Chicago had only been made an accessible market place after the construction of the various lines of railroad connecting with smaller towns and the surrounding country, for there were no navigable rivers flowing to Chicago on which goods could be transported. However by 1860 there is good reason to believe that all the surplus products of the northern part of the State and perhaps the most of those of the central section also were coming into the Chicago market and from

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1. United States Census, 1860. Volume on Population.





there to the eastern markets by way of the lakes. In 1856 the corn<sup>1</sup> shipped to Chicago amounted to 11,888,398 bushels. The amount of the<sup>2</sup> traffic on the Illinois and Michigan canal in 1858 was \$197,171.31 . And the total amount of grain delivered to Chicago markets in 1861<sup>3</sup> was 33,214,294 bushels. This rapid growth of commerce, through Chicago, with the eastern markets, bound northern Illinois closer to the North each year until in 1860 they were more than willing to stand by the Union in order that their trade relations might not be interrupted. They wanted whatever promised or seemed to promise a continuation of this relation. It is true that they thought this would be most likely to obtain under the administration of the Republican party and thus we see that the eight delegates from this section, at the Chicago con-<sup>4</sup>vention were all favorable to Mr. Seward for president until it was thought he could not carry New Jersey, Indiana, Pennsylvania and Illinois, because of his strong anti-slavery proclivities and then they gladly and whole heartedly supported Mr. Lincoln. Each of the entire group of the twenty-nine counties gave Mr. Lincoln a majority varying<sup>5</sup> from 87 to 4,743 and his total majority in this section was 39,239. Had it not been for the fourteen most northern counties of the State, Mr. Lincoln could not have carried the State. It is also interesting to note that each of the fourteen counties except Jo Daviess and Stephenson, which had a good market on the Mississippi river, gave Mr. Lincoln not less than 1000 majority, and that out of the other fifteen counties there were only four that gave him a majority of 1000 or

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1. Hunt's Merchants Magazine. Vol. XLII, page 492.
2. Report to the General Assembly, 1861. Vol. I, page 545.
3. Annual Cyclopedic, 1861. Vol. I, page 367.
4. Rhodes, History of the United States. Vol. II, page 460.
5. Report of the Secretary of State, 1860.



more. It can be said of the people generally throughout the State, that in the election of 1860, they did not take into consideration the candidate individually, but the success of the party was the predominant idea. However the politicians on either side wielded a strong influence over their constituents.

The National politicians who resided in this district or were interested in it, financially and politically, were Senators Douglas and Trunbull, Congressmen Elihu B. Washburne, John F. Farnsworth and Owen Lovejoy. All these men were unionists and Douglas was the only exception among them to anti-slavery. In this respect Douglas differed widely from the other political leaders in this section, for he was as strong pro-slavery, under certain conditions, as he was a unionist. Mr. Douglas\* was the most prominent name among those just mentioned and one whose ideas may be taken as representative of the minority party on the subject of slavery and secession. He was the leading exponent of "State Sovereignty"\*\*\* and he said that "he thought his views were in harmony with three-fourths of the people." He emphasized that the decision of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case was perfectly just and emphatically declared that unless the people stood by the court's decision, the whole republican system of government would be destroyed. Mr. Douglas gave expression to his views concerning slavery

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\* It may be well to keep in mind that Douglas was a native of Vermont but his wife was the only daughter of Col. Robert Martin of Rockingham County, N.C. 2

\*\* Greely said "Douglas is Free Soil enough for me". 3

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1. Congressional Globe, 1860. Page 420.
2. Letter of Robert Douglas, October, 14th, 1908, to Pres. Ill. Hist. Soc.
3. Congressional Globe, 1859. Part I, page 40.





and secession at various places and under varying conditions but they were always consistent with his idea of 'Popular Sovereignty'.\*

Messrs Trumbull, Farnsworth\*\*, and Lovejoy\*\*\* looked on slavery as a great sin and even laid this sin to the charge of the Democrats, but it seems clear that Judge Douglas never thought of slavery from the moral standpoint. He said that those who felt so deeply for the negro<sup>1</sup> were too far away from him to know what his status was, and that only those who lived in the border states, for example, southern Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and Pennsylvania bordering on Maryland, understood the negro's condition. "There the civilities of society are constantly interchanged and there you will find them standing by each other like a band of brothers. But just in proportion as the people are ignorant of the facts, just in that proportion party leaders can impose on their sympathies and honest prejudices."<sup>2</sup> Douglas even went as far as to class the negro with the brute animals for he said "why not make it a crime to run off fugitive slaves as well as to run off horses or any other property"<sup>3</sup>. Mr. Douglas further explained why the people of Illinois and especially those of the northern section were Abolitionists when he said, "we in Illinois tried slavery while we were a territory and found it was not profitable and hence we turned philanthropists and abolished it, just as our British friends across the ocean

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Douglas said "I look forward to the time when each State shall be allowed to do as it pleases. If it chooses to keep slavery forever it is not my business, but its own. If it chooses to abolish slavery it is its own business not mine. I care more for the great principle of self government than I do for all the negroes in christendom." <sup>4</sup>

\*\* Farnsworth hoped that God might grant him to see the day that slavery would be abolished in America. <sup>5</sup>

\*\*\* Lovejoy classed slavery as a sin with robbery, piracy and polygamy and enslaving of inferior humans was the doctrine of Democrats and Devils. <sup>6</sup>

1. Gardiner, Life of Douglas. Page 206.

2. Congressional Globe, 1860. Page 559.

3. ibid, page 558.

4. ibid, 1859. Part III, page 2152.

5. Congressional Globe, 1859. No. I, page 229.

6. ibid, 1860. No. I, page 437.





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 did." In other words the slavery question with Mr. Douglas was purely  
 a question of political economy, to be determined by climate, by soil,  
 by production, by self interest and hence the people to be affected by  
 by it were, he said, the most impartial jury to try the fact whether  
 2  
 their interests required them to have it or not. Personally, he said  
 that it made no difference to him whether a state had slavery or not  
 and any who were Abolitionists were such only because their economic  
 interests were not involved. "If I were a citizen of Louisiana I  
 would vote for retaining and maintaining slavery, because I believe  
 the good of that people would require it, as a citizen of Illinois I  
 am utterly opposed to it, because our interests would not be promoted  
 3  
 by it."

Mr. Douglas lamented the fact that the negroes were in the United  
 States and he opposed the traffic in slaves, and declined to accept  
 the nomination for president if the revival of the African slave  
 trade was to become a principle of the Democratic party and in a let-  
 ter to Mr. Penton he declared that he was opposed to the revival of  
 4  
 the trade in any form and under any circumstances. Douglas knew that  
 to free the negroes, meant to give them political and social liberty  
 as well and this was extremely irritating to him.\* It may be all  
 right, he said, to grant the negro protection in his civil rights, life  
 and property, but never should he have political and social equality

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\* Colonel Martin, Judge Douglas' father-in-law, offered to give Mr. Doug-  
 las \$150,000 worth of slave property, but he refused to accept it un-  
 der any consideration. 5

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1. Congressional Globe, 1860. Page 915.
2.       ibid, No. 1, Jan., 23d.
3.       ibid, page 559.
4. New York Times, August, 25th, 1860.
5. Sheahn, Life of Douglas. Page 127.





with the white man. "I would not let one of the negroes, free or slave, either vote or hold office anywhere, where I had the right, under the Constitution to prevent it."

While these statements show Judge Douglas' attitude toward slavery, as it existed, he was a strong supporter of the Union at all cost.\* Even before the election when he heard the returns from the Pennsylvania state election he said to his private secretary, "Mr. Lincoln is the next president, we must try to save the Union,"<sup>1</sup> and he immediately turned his attention to the South. He spoke in Kentucky, Missouri, Georgia and Alabama and he never failed to aver his desire for preserving the Union.\*\* He did not think there was any grievance that could justify disunion and when he learned that there was some doubt whether Southern Illinois would go with Mr. Lincoln, in coercing the southern states, he went to Springfield and addressed the Legislature and urged them to stand by the Union.\*\*\* Douglas no doubt saw, earlier than any other man of the North, what the intention of the South was and he

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\* Early in September Douglas told Wilson and Burlingame that he believed the Union was in danger and that he would make any personal sacrifice to preserve it and that if the withdrawing of his name from the ticket would defeat Mr. Lincoln, he would do it at once. 2

\*\* When asked at Norfolk, Va. Whether the election of Lincoln would justify secession of the South, he said I emphatically answer no. In other words I think the president whoever he may be should treat all attempts to break up the Union as 'Old Hickory' treated the nullifiers in 1832. 3

\*\*\* In speaking to the joint assembly of the Illinois Legislature, Mr. Douglas said "I had supposed it was a fundamental principle of American institutions that the will of the majority, constitutionally speaking, should govern. Allow me to say to my former political enemies, you will not be true to your country if you seek to make political capital out of these disasters; and to my old friends, you will be false and unworthy of your principles if you allow political defeat to convert you into traitors to your National land. The shortest way to peace is the most stupendous and unanimous preparations for war. Whoever is not prepared to sacrifice party organization and platforms on the Altar of his country does not deserve the support and confidence of honest people." 4

1. Letter of R.M. Douglas to Pres. Ill. State Hist. Society, Oct., 14th, 1908.
2. New York Tribune, Sept., 13th, 1860.
3. Douglas speech at Norfolk, Va. Sept., 22d, 1860.
4. Illinois State Journal, March, 25th, 1860.





used all his ability in trying to conciliate them both by amendments and by compromise.\*

It was truly a great loss as well as a grief to the State and Nation when on the third of June 1861, Judge Douglas' soul passed out, for it seemed just at that time so noble a life was almost indispensable.

In most cases the ideas of the state politicians of the northern section, on slavery and secession were found in the editorial columns of the party organs, in sentiment if not in exact words. In this section of the State the term Democrat and Republican was not intended to convey the idea of Union or Non-union, for nearly all voters were Union  
men. However there were some Democrats of the northern district whose zeal for the Union had slackened on account of the political decapitation under the new administration. The Republican leaders wanted to leave the impression that the party issues had been put in the background, since all desired to put down the rebellion and that they had ceased to discuss the right of slavery to extend itself over territo-

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\* The first method by which Douglas tried to bring about reconciliation was amendment to the Federal Constitution. First, the proposed fourteenth article, The United States shall have the power to acquire from time to time districts of country in Africa and South America for colonization at the expense of the Federal treasury, of such free negroes and mulattoes as the several states may wish to have removed from their limits and from the District of Columbia and such other districts under the jurisdiction of Congress; second, on the third of January 1861, he offered another amendment, which provided that Congress should make no laws in respect to slavery or servitude in any territory of the United States, and the status of each territory in respect to servitude, as the same now exists by law, should remain unchanged.

Now that all attempts at amendment failed, Douglas turned his attention to compromise. He said "I prefer compromise to a dissolution of the Union. Let the people vote on compromise." It was said by the Chicago papers that had it not been for Douglas' Springfield speech and his last speech in Chicago just before his death, that the war would have been brought within the borders of Illinois. 2

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1. Moses, Illinois Historical and Statistical. Vol. II, page 643.
2. Ill. State Journal, March, 25th, 1860; Cong. Globe. Jan., 1st, 3rd, 1861.





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ry now free and had applied themselves to its right to exist anywhere. Judging from the leading Democratic organ of this part of the State, one would not infer that party lines had been erased and that all were working for one cause, the Union. A case now came up which showed that the people of the northern section were to a very large degree, in sympathy with the North and that the old principle of denying slaveholders the right to recover their property, was still a live issue. John Hossuck and the two Stout brothers of Ottawa had violated the Fugitive Slave law by rescuing a fugitive from his pursuers and they were being tried in the United States District Court. Many politicians had said that the penalties for violation of the law could not be inflicted, but here was a case which would vindicate the power of the Government to enforce its law and teach abolitionist Chicago a <sup>2</sup> lesson. The Chicago Tribune in reporting the event said, "We have no <sup>3</sup> heart to comment on the case." A few personal letters written by citizens of Ottawa will show further the disposition of the people of this section to support the North.

Ottawa, Ill. January, 6th, 1860.

Brothers if you did obey the sublime impulse of humanity and actually, as charged, did deliver an innocent and helpless fellow being from the chains of American slavery, it seemed perhaps but a small local affair. But it was a successful contest with a Nation's despotism.

<sup>4</sup>  
Signed, George W. Bassett.

Ottawa, Ill. January, 5th, 1860.

I cannot refrain from contributing my mite towards lightening the burden which an unjust and ungodly legislation, has bound upon the <sup>5</sup> shoulders, (not upon the conscience, thank God) of freedom loving men.

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Signed, Wm. C. Scofield.

1. Chi. Tribune. Aug., 9th, 1861.

2. ibid, March, 9th, 1860.

3. ibid, April, 4th, 1861.

4. ibid, Jan. 10th, 1861.

5. ibid, Jan., 10th, 1860.



Ottawa, Ill. January, 5th, 1860.

Yield nothing of principle, I beseech you - Rather than do so, I would exchange places with you. I think the effect thus far, on public sentiment here, is first rate. With the exception of a few red mouthed slave hounds, no one wants us to suffer pain and penalties for a good  
 1  
 act.

Signed, C.B. King.

Ottawa, Ill. January, 3d, 1861.

John Hossack,

Dear Brother: -

This is the first letter I ever addressed to one of my fellow men in prison. My dear brother, I am not ashamed of your chains. It is three years since I first knew you and seldom has there been a more trying three years for all classes of men than those in which our acquaintance has been formed. I feel in the matter that brings you to prison you have acted the part of a God fearing and humanity loving man. Cheerfully would I share your imprisonment had it been so ordered, but I have not been counted worthy to suffer unto bonds yet. I pray daily for you that you may have strength and courage to face the oligarchy that has seized the general government of the North and  
 2  
 bribed the feeble flimsy christianity of the Nation.

Your pastor, Z. Coleman.

When compromise was suggested again northern Illinois showed clearly that she intended to stand with the radical northerners. Neither the politicians nor their constituents were very enthusiastically in favor of compromise, especially after their political victory in November. The editor of the Chicago Tribune spoke of those favoring

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1. Chicago Daily Journal, January, 10th, 1860.
2. Chicago Democrat, January, 14th, 1860.





it thus,"the misfortune attending the effort of the few gentlemen in this city,claiming to be the kind of Republicans who are willing to establish slavery by constitutional enactment in half of the territory of the United States is this;in the call for their meeting to endorse Mr.Kellogg and rebuke the Tribune,they included all Republicans. This<sup>1</sup> is the feeling of only a small minority of the Chicago Republicans." About a month later another attempt at conciliation was made and again the politicians of northern Illinois registered their sentiments in the following language: "Our despatches say that the Border States are about to call a halt and propose a compromise. Gentlemen of the Border States you have played yourselves out. When you and the confederate traitors whom you have been encouraging and protecting,get ready to do your duty as honest and loyal citizens under the laws which you have aided in making,then no compromise will be needed, every musket will be stacked and the volunteers return to their usual vocations. All other compromises are illtimed,out of place and insulting. Restore what you have taken,surrender the traitors who have fan-<sup>2</sup>ned this secession flame. Nothing less can be accepted." Mr.Dement of Lee County submitted a resolution before the Constitutional Convention of 1862 which showed how thoroughly the northern section of the State was imbued with the spirit of the Lincoln Administration. "We do cheerfully approve the modifications of the proclamation of General Fremont and the modifications of the report of the late Secretary of War on the subject of arming the slaves,by the President,and that we are gratified with the resignation of Mr.Cameron,a member of the Cabinet,as indicating a purpose on the part of the administration of

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1. Chicago Tribune,February,14th,1861.

2. ibid,April,23d,1861.



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adhering to the conservative principles of the Constitution." On motion the resolution was tabled.

The editors of the Chicago papers spoke rather exultantly of the fact that northern Illinois had given Lincoln nearly 40,000 majority.<sup>2</sup> The bankers were also quite well pleased to think that their banks were holding few or none of the southern securities.<sup>3</sup> And when they speak of subscribing for the State bonds for the war loan, one is impressed with the feeling that the people of the northern section considered that they sustained a closer and more confidential relation to the Federal government than the rest of the State.<sup>4</sup> The editors of this section never let an incident, out of which could be shown their loyalty to the North, pass without specially emphasizing it. Some examples on various questions which arose in 1860 and 1861 will make this statement clear. Judge Skates of the Cook County bench held that those who would vote for ex-mayor Wentworth were John Brown Abolitionists. The Tribune replied to this by saying, there were a large number of that class in Cook County and that the term Abolitionist did not frighten them any longer, but that those most free in designating loyal men as Abolitionists, were themselves sympathizers with traitors.<sup>5</sup> The Tribune estimated that there were 500 secessionists in and about Chicago holding regular secret meetings and receiving through the mail some of the most treasonable literature.\* The Tribune declared

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\* The Common Council of Chicago thought that secessionists if there were any, ought to be driven out of Chicago or silenced and therefore they required an oath of allegiance to the Union from all the citizens.

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1. Journal of Convention of 1862. Page 109.
2. Chicago Tribune, September, 26th, 1861.
3. History of the First National Bank of Chicago. Page 49.
4. Chicago Tribune, July, 25th, 1861.
5.       ibid, November, 5th, 1861.
6.       ibid, April, 16th, 1861.
- ibid, April, 28th, 1861.





that those leaning toward or favoring secession should be socially  
<sup>1</sup>  
tabood and politically proscribed. Again the Tribune shows its loyalty by publishing a letter signed, "A Reader of the Tribune", in which he refers to the Black Laws of Illinois and says, "can it be that such laws exist in this christian State of Illinois. I had heard of the Black laws, but I had no idea of what they were. Every nerve in my body throbs with indignation when I reflect on this utter cruelty and heartlessness. I shall not rest until I have obtained a pledge from every candidate on our legislative ticket, that he will labor for the  
<sup>2</sup>  
repeal of those disgraceful enactments." An incident occurred in Chicago in the early part of 1861 which illustrates further this defensive spirit of the press. A colored girl who had passed her examinations in the lower grades desired to enter the normal department of the high school, to prepare herself for a teacher and some of the school board objected. The Tribune reasoned in this manner; if colored children ought to be educated in our common schools, colored men and  
<sup>3</sup>  
women ought to be qualified to become teachers. From the further comments, it seemed to be gratifying to many that the girl was passed to the high school by a vote of the board of six to three. In the other sections of the State, however, negro children were not given the privilege of even attending the common schools.

Other expressions of loyalty to the North are to be found in resolutions submitted by leading citizens of this northern section. A certain John Lyle King submitted to a body of Chicago Unionists such a set of resolutions. They were in brief; The Federal government is a government of the people and not a compact of states and is intended to be a perpetual union. Secession is revolution and treason. When

1. Chicago Democrat, October, 20<sup>th</sup>, 1860.

2. <sup>ibid</sup>, October, 22<sup>d</sup>, 1860.

3. Chicago Tribune, July, 29<sup>th</sup>, 1861.



the people of any state aim to sever the Union, the people of Illinois and every other state, having a common interest in its perpetuity, have a right to say, the Union must and shall be preserved. We stand by the Constitution as our fathers made it. All rights and property included<sup>1</sup> in the Constitution should be preserved. A.D. Bradley submitted a set of resolutions which were more radical than those of King's and judging from the comment, were preferred by a large number, but not enough<sup>2</sup> to vote to accept them. Still another example seems worthy of mention here. Mr. M. H. Cassel, a friend of Governor Yates and a trustee of the Illinois and Michigan canal was sent to Missouri by General Pope, to bring off the coin exposed in some of the inland banks and while executing his task was captured and detained twelve days in the Rebel camp. Upon returning home, although he had always been a zealous union man, declared himself more earnestly in favor of a vigorous prosecution<sup>3</sup> of the war than ever before.

The masses, were no less active in expressing their ideas on slavery and secession than the other classes mentioned, but unfortunately, they were not very frequently registered. They held, in most every community, what was known as "Union Meetings". They discussed the various questions of the day and passed resolutions either approving or disapproving of recent State and National legislation. The Germans of<sup>4</sup> Chicago were especially active along those lines just mentioned. The resolutions passed at a meeting held at Princeton in Bureau County is a fair example and is still another proof of the spirit of fidelity to the principles of the North. (1) We stand for the Constitution without amendment or alteration. (2) We oppose calling a National

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1. Chicago Tribune, January, 3d, 1861.

2. ibid.

3. ibid, September, 26th, 1861.

4. Illinois Staatszeitung, January, 8th, 1861.





convention to amend the Constitution.(3)Compromises in time past with slaveholders are unavailing.(4)We look with respect on the Union.(5) Slavery is the creature of local law and is a political and social evil.(6) We endorse the inauguration and approve of our representatives in Congress. The people in many counties organized themselves into bodies so as to co-operate in the various campaign movements of 1860. The Republicans were organized under the title of "Wide Awakes" and the Democrats\* so organized were known as "Knights of the Golden Circle". Later those terms were applied to Unionists and Secessionists. General Grant tells of the activity of both parties at Galena and how he would occasionally meet with the "Wide Awakes" and superintend their drill. He also tells how enthusiastic the people were when the call for troops was made,"posters were stuck up,calling for a meeting of the citizens at the court house in the evening. Business ceased entirely;all was excitement. All were Union men,determined to avenge the insult to the National flag. In the evening,the court house was packed. Speeches were made by B.B.Howard,the post-master,A.Breckenridge,a Democrat and John A.Rawlins an elector on the Douglas ticket. It is doubtful whether it would have been safe just then to make other than patriotic speeches. There was probably no one in the house who felt like making any other." Such demonstrations as these and the observance of the National Fast Day,on the fourth of January 1861, when prayer meetings were held and sermons preached,give some idea of what the people of the northern section of the State thought.

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\* The Democrats sometimes organized local groups under the name of "Hickory Boys". They had an organization in Champaign County,composed of 1000 members.The "Wide Awakes" had an organization here also. 4

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1. Chicago Tribune,January,8th,1861.
2. Grant,Personal Memoirs.Vol.I,page 216.
3. ibid,page 230.
4. Urbana Clarion,September,1st,1860.



## C H A P T E R VI.

### IDEAS RESPECTING SLAVERY AND SECESSION IN CENTRAL ILLINOIS.

The central section of the State, as I shall treat it, embraced twenty-six counties, eighteen of which were touched by navigable water routes. The land was specially adapted to farming and that was the leading occupation. In the cities of Peoria, Springfield and Quincy there were some thriving manufacturing establishments and they employed a large percent of their citizens, but the majority of the people of this district lived in the country. The people who inhabited this district had come from a wide range of states and foreign countries.<sup>1</sup> There were some counties, Adams, Tazewell, Henry, Knox and Peoria, in which there were large numbers of foreigners, especially Germans, but outside of these districts, the colonies of immigrants were small and scarce. There were twelve towns and cities that were good markets. The two cities of more than ten thousand inhabitants were Peoria and Quincy. Both were so situated on the Illinois and Mississippi rivers as to attract the trade from wide areas and from these two markets the grain, vegetables and cured meats were transported to the South, where they commanded a good price.\* There were in 1860 only five

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\* A correspondent for the Journal writing from Cairo says, "I wish again through the Journal to call the attention of those in authority to the gross folly of permitting produce of any kind to pass through St Louis and Cairo for the South. I cannot for the life of me see any wisdom in the policy which would stop ordinance supplies for the traitors and yet permit the passage of commissary stores to them. Immense loads of provisions are hourly passing these ports for the rebels, in steam boats and flat boats, etc; and we are now actually supplying them with bread. 2

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1. United States Census, 1860. Vol. on Population.
2. Illinois Journal, May, 2d, 1861.





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branches of railroad, that touched or ran into this section of the State and connected with northern markets, consequently most of the traffic was going south.\* There was a desperate effort being put forth by Chicago merchants to bring the produce of this section to Chicago and they were gradually succeeding, but the traders of this central section had done business through Peoria, Quincy and St Louis for so long, and too the freight rate was cheaper on the river, so that it made the change of market places a slow process. Mr. Samuel Mc Gown an old resident of Greenville, Illinois, who worked on a steam boat that plied between Peoria and St Louis regularly, told me that they frequently, during 1860 and 1861, brought a boat load of salt pork even from La Salle, to St Louis.

While it is true that at this time each of the three divisions of the State had its own political centre, where resided the leading politicians of that particular constituency and where the political organs of each party were issued, yet I think it can safely be said, that Springfield was the political centre of the State, in theory at least. The Illinois State Journal, the Republican official organ, and the Illinois State Register the Democratic organ, represented more particularly the ideas of the central section, yet they tried to represent the political status throughout the State. Although party lines were closely drawn in all parts of the State in 1860 there was a more strict conformity to party here than elsewhere, for it was

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\* Governor Yates in his inaugural referred to the importance of the Mississippi river as a highway of commerce to Illinois and the other states of the North-West. He said, "I know I speak for Illinois and I believe for the north west, when I declare them a unit in the unalterable determination of her millions, occupying the great basin drained by the Mississippi, to permit no portion of that stream to be controlled by a foreign jurisdiction. 2

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1. Report to the General Assembly, 1860. Vol. I, page 102.

2. ibid, 1861. Vol. I, page 15.



known that if Mr.Lincoln carried Illinois it would come through the vote of the northern and central sections, and again the parties were more evenly divided here than in either of the other divisions. This conclusion is the result of a close examination of the record of the vote in 1860.<sup>1</sup>

Mr.Douglas received a majority over Mr.Lincoln in seventeen counties varying from 11 to 476 and in the other nine counties Mr. Lincoln received majorities varying from 180 to 1624 and out of the approximate vote of 103,000, Mr.Lincoln received 1392<sup>2</sup> majority. It is interesting to note that seven of the nine counties in which Lincoln received majorities, either join directly the counties of the northern section or are in the next tier of counties south of them and are joining one another. The other two counties in which he received a majority are south of the Illinois river. They too join one another and also two other counties that gave Lincoln large majorities. The last two counties mentioned were inhabited largely by people from New York and Ohio and some New Englanders and Germans. There is still another classification of counties in this section that the reader should notice before drawing any conclusion. There were nine counties in which the contest was closest. The majorities varied from 11 to 298. All these counties either directly or indirectly carried on commerce with the South through St Louis, and Mr.Douglas received the majority vote in eight of the nine counties. Thus it is seen, that farther south in the State where the people's commercial relations were with the South, that thier interests and sympathies were very naturally with them also. The increase in the vote for Bell and Breckenridge also shows the increasing interest the people of the central section

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1. Record of vote in the office of Secretary of State.

2. ibid.





had in the South, but the counties which were carried for Lincoln gave them only a very small vote and had Douglas received the votes that these candidates received, he would have carried the central section by fifty-two votes.

The central section of the State presented a different situation politically from either of the two other sections. With the exception of about 1500 scattering votes it was almost evenly divided between the Democrats and Republicans. Wm. Kellogg from the fourth congressional district was the only member in Congress from the central section representing a Republican constituency. Isaac N. Morris a Whig of the fifth district and John A. Mc Clermand, a Democrat of the sixth district, were representing Democratic majorities. When the Democrats saw the political tendency in 1858 they were determined to hold their own if possible, but people from the north and eastern states were settling in the counties along the eastern and northern borders of this section and they were in most cases Republicans. These conditions encouraged the Republicans and when the contest of 1860 came each party entered as for a hand to hand fight.\* These party contests were acute even in local politics\*\* and judging from the warnings made through the press, there was some illegal voting in county and national

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\* The Macomb Eagle said, "politics seem to enter into everything and little attention is paid to anything now days unless it be mixed up in some way with political activities of the day." 2

\*\* An instance cited by the Illinois Journal will give one an idea of how far party spirit extended. "The Democratic heads of messes on last Saturday night held a secret meeting at one of the rooms in Douls' restaurant, and there determined that they should carry their county ticket at all hazards. The dishonest knaves deliberately made arrangements to effect this by importing voters from the adjoining counties. Mc Clermand, candidate for Congress, was at this caucus." 3

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1. Peoria, Knox and Henry County Histories.
2. Macomb Eagle, September, 1st, 1860.
3. Illinois Journal, October, 31st, 1860.





elections in this section.\* By 1860 the Democrats of the central section had come to think that Republican meant Abolition and that an Abolitionist was any one who was opposed to the election of Douglas.<sup>1</sup> Every movement looking to the freedom of the slave\*\*was seized upon by sympathizers with the South as an evidence of the purpose of the Republican party to ultimately free the slaves. The Republicans of this section always denied any alliance with the Abolitionists.\*\*\* The Democrat despised the Abolitionist because of his attitude toward the South and slavery and the Republican party pretended to shun him because large numbers of Republicans were as much opposed to emancipation as were the Democrats. Even after the election, the partisan

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\* It can not be determined to what extent dishonest practices were carried on in this part of the State, but charges against the opposing party, occur frequently in all the papers during 1860. Stuffing the ballot box was sometimes charged to one or the other party. "The Democracy are preparing to carry this and surrounding counties by stuffing the ballot boxes. This is well understood. It is all important therefore that in each precinct, some true and trusty man be selected to keep constant watch on the ballot boxes. Do not trust them out of your sight for a moment. If judges adjourn for dinner or for supper or to count the votes, go where the boxes go. Do not be satisfied with getting the key. It is easy for dishonest men to have another by which they can open the box, substituting Democrat for Republican votes and you are none the wiser. Do not let this be done." 2

\*\* The name Abolition was associated with Republican by the Democrats whenever it was possible. Mr. Lincoln was called an Abolitionist because he subscribed \$25 toward defending the peaceable inhabitants of Kansas Territory against the invasions of armed violence if needed. 3 Some of the people were so enraged against the strong opponents of slavery that "in some places money was raised--purses made up and men hired to go to Joliet to abuse Lovejoy and others, and to blackguard them." 4

\*\*\*"The Republican party has from the beginning earnestly disclaimed all connection with the ideas, principles or intentions of the ultra-slavery men of the north. The Simon Pure Abolitionists and their opponents have vainly labored to fasten the name upon them. None have showed a more bitter contempt for Republicans than the Abolitionists. In New York, Ohio and Illinois they have nominated separate tickets and this suits us." 5

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1. Illinois Journal, March, 22d, 1861.
2. ibid, October, 31st, 1860.
3. ibid, July, 27th, 1860.
4. Central Illinois Gazette, March, 22d, 1861.
5. Illinois State Journal, September, 17th, 1860.





spirit ran so high on the slavery and secession question in the central section of the State that the leading party organs were obliged to try to restrain the party agitation of the country presses. The Illinois Journal said, "we implore the country press of Illinois by every consideration that can move a patriot, to cease talking politics. War is upon us-our government, our lives and our liberties are in danger and it is now the duty of every patriotic man to stand faithfully by his country, and contribute as best he may to its defense. It is useless to speculate upon the causes which have led to the present state of affairs. It is enough for loyal men to know that their Government has been attacked by traitors and that it needs their aid. It will be time enough to raise political questions, when blood has ceased to flow. We sincerely trust that all our brethren of the press, irrespective of party, will give the influence of their papers to the cause of an imperilled country. Let profitless discussion cease."<sup>1</sup> Even the members of the Legislature could not be reconciled. It seemed that at one time in the early part of the regular session in 1860 and 1861 that the Legislature would be broken up. Senator Austin Brooks\* of Quincy, did resign and others had intended to follow his example,"but on account of outside influences they did not"<sup>2</sup>. Governor Yates struck the keynote to the political feeling of the central section, when he said, "we have just passed through a political contest

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\* Mr. Brooks wrote a letter to the Senate in which he enumerated the reasons for his resignation. (1) The majority in both houses will not carry out the will of the people. (2) It is the design of the majority to enact laws which will be in open violation to the Constitution. (3) The majority will not stand by the Constitution." <sup>3</sup>

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1. Illinois Journal, April, 20th, 1861.
2. Chicago Daily Journal, January, 19th, 1861.
3. Journal of the Senate, January, 18th, 1861. Page 135.



which,owing to local causes,aroused a high excitement and evoked a more ardent personal feeling among ourselves than any previous struggle of which our State has been the theatre."<sup>1</sup>

The ideas of the people of the central section on the slavery question turned principally on the extension of the institution into the territories. Too much has been written about Mr.Lincoln's attitude toward slavery to take much time to set forth his views,except in a few particular instances. He said "I hate it bacause of the injustice of slavery itself. I hate it because it deprives our republican example of its just influence in the world-enables the enemies of free institutions,with plausibility,to taunt us as hypocrites - causes the real friend of freedom to doubt our sincerity and especially because it forces so many really good men amongst ourselves into an open war with the very fundamental principles of civil liberty - criticizing the Declaration of Independence and insisting that there is no right principle of action but self interest."<sup>2</sup> While Mr.Lincoln thought,that under the existing circumstances slavery could be allowed where it already existed,he very ardently opposed its extension into the territories. He said,in his New York speech of the twenty-seventh of February 1860 : "Wrong as we think slavery is,we can yet afford to leave it alone where it is because that much is due to the necessity arising from its actual presence in the Nation;but can we, while our votes will prevent it,allow it to spread into national territories and to overrun us here in these free states?"<sup>3</sup> In 1860 Mr.

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1. Journal of the Senate,January,9th,1861. page 20.
2. Lincoln-Douglas Debate,Lincoln's speech,August,21st,1858.
3. Nicolay and Hay,Lincoln's Works. Vol.II,page 432.





Lincoln carefully avoided any statements that might be construed to mean that he or the party he represented thought of emancipation. In support of this statement we may quote from his letter of the twenty-second of December 1860 to A.H.Stephens in which he says,"do the people of the South really entertain fears that a Republican administration would,directly or indirectly,interfere with the slaves or with them about the slaves? If they do,I wish to assure you,that there is no cause for such fears." <sup>1</sup> Mr.Lincoln had been accused by Judge Douglas and many others,of favoring social and political equality between the negro and white man. However Lincoln had early explained his position regarding equality. He said,"I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and black races. There is a physical difference between the two which,in my judgment,will probably forever forbid their living together upon the footing of perfect equality." <sup>2</sup> The people who really believed in equality of the two races were very few. The Illinois Journal said,that there were two men in this political division who were in favor of such an equality. They were Colonel Don Morrison of St Clair County and Judge Mayo of De Kalb County.

Mr.Mc Clernand was free to express his views on the various questions arising out of the slavery issue. He like Mr.Douglas favored slavery wherever it was profitable financially.\* In respect to

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\* "A higher law than any law to be passed by Congress must and will control this question - the law of geography,climate and soil;the law of self interest which underlies and controls every community." 3

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1. Nicolay and Hay,Lincoln's Works. Vol.II,page 660.
2.       ibid,page 325.
3. Congressional Globe,1860. Page 513.





slavery in the states and territories he stood upon the principle of  
<sup>1</sup>  
 non-interference by Congress upon the subject. To him slavery was a  
 local affair and he would have the people of each state or territory  
 introduce or exclude it as seemed best to them.\* At the same time he  
 admitted that the power of a territorial legislature to prohibit sla-  
 very within the limits of the territory, was a judicial question to be  
 decided by the Supreme Court, and not a political question to be deci-  
<sup>2</sup>  
 ded by any party or party platform. Mr. Mc Clernand was well aware that  
 these views were in keeping with the ideas of the people of his dist-  
 rict and also with the ideas of the South.

It is no great surprise to know that a Democrat representing a  
 Democratic constituency should express such views, but here was Mr.  
 Kellogg a Republican and representing a district with a strong Repub-  
 lican majority who held very similar views to those of Mr. Mc Clernand  
 except that he believed in excluding slavery from the territories in

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\* Mr. Mc Clernand contributed the following articles to the Illinois  
 Democratic state platform which gave his ideas on the slavery ques-  
 tion. "That all questions pertaining to African slavery in the Terri-  
 tories shall be forever banished from the Halls of Congress. That the  
 people of the Territories shall be left perfectly free to make just  
 such laws and regulations in respect to slavery and all other matters  
 of local concern as they may determine for themselves subject to no  
 other limitations or restrictions than those imposed by the Constitu-  
 tion of the United States. That whenever Congress, or the Legislature  
 of any State or Territory shall make any enactment or do any act which  
 attempts to divest, impair or prejudice any right which the owner of  
 slaves or any species of property may have or claim in any Territory  
 or elsewhere by virtue of the Constitution or otherwise and the party  
 aggrieved shall bring his case before the Supreme Court of the United  
 States, the Democracy of Illinois as in duty bound by their obliga-  
 tions of fidelity to the Constitution will cheerfully respect and  
 abide by the decision and use all lawful means to aid in giving it  
 full effect according to its true intent and meaning." 3

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1. Congressional Globe, 1860. Page 513.

2.           ibid.

3.           ibid.





a constitutional way.\* Although there were some in Mr.Kellogg's district who because of their early environment and personal interests were strong anti-slavery, but many more were favorable to just such policies as he advised on compromise. Governor Yates in speaking of the extension of slavery into the territories declared that if the states in which slavery already existed were peculiarly located, we would not disturb their peculiar institutions. He further stated however that the people of the North would not relinquish their right to the protection of the laws, under the Constitution and thus we cannot be expected, said he, to favor a policy that will extend slavery to all the territories. Mr.Yates made up his mind that slavery as an institution would ultimately be destroyed. He said, "I do not believe slavery can exist forever. Die it must, sooner or later; die, that the philosophy of history may be demonstrated; die that man's most cherished hopes may not wither; die, that God's eternal justice may be

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\* If slavery be a blessing then hug it to your bosom, if it burns, seathes and eats out your vitals, it is your own fault and not mine; and you alone must work out the remedy for this great evil and yours is the responsibility; we will not interfere, that is the sentiment of my people. When on the other hand you reach the territories where we have a common interest and a common right, then sir we are pledged to prevent its extension by any and all constitutional means. "We will do it by legislation. We will do it by giving land to the settlers on which to rear the alters and homes of freedom and by cutting off corrupt executive patronage and giving the election of all territorial officers to the people. We will do it by unshackling freedom upon the great western plains and allowing it to meet there the hideous front of slavery. Then, sir as sure as truth will overcome error so sure liberty and freedom will overcome slavery and wrong. These are portions of the means that we will use, for the territories are our common heritage. There we are opposed to slavery. There we will make liberty free for where slavery is it is shackled. 2

I stated that in the states slavery was a matter of their own. I believe it to be a state institution not a national institution. As a state institution, I treat it as such, for the Constitution recognizes it as a right beyond the limits of a state, the institution finds no warrant in the Constitution, and believing as I do that it is a moral, social and political wrong, I said then and I say now, that, with all constitutional power I will resist its aggression." 3

1. Journal of the Senate, 1861. Vol. I.

2. Congressional Globe, 1859. Part I.

3. *ibid*, page 45.





vindicated, but it by no means follows, that slave states and free states may not be associated in the same confederacy and united under such a wise Constitution as ours with every right secure and every interest safe.<sup>1</sup>"

The Illinois Journal said, "The supremacy of a sentiment hostile to slavery in the non-slaveholding states of the Union is the cause of disunion."<sup>2</sup> Here is the official organ of the successful party of this section of the State, making quite a bold acknowledgement. This is much more liberal than even the Democratic organ of the northern section was much less the Republican paper. How different is the statement from the Editor of the Chicago Tribune, "If there be any decent excuse for the treason now running riot in the southern states, what possible pretext can be urged for complicity with crime in Illinois."<sup>3</sup> Now there was an abundance of Union sentiment in the central section, but there are many instances which show that the people of this section entertained moderate ideas favoring secession. The Illinois Register expressed the idea that a state had a right to secede from the Union without seriously impairing any of the powers delegated in the Constitution and that the Union was merely a compact of states and that any member may withdraw by merely refusing to hold the Federal offices and by this act fall back into a position of temporal non-resistance.<sup>4</sup> This is a very tame example of expression. The Peoria Democrat, a German paper openly sympathized with the South and was liberally supported by the Peoria City Council, and they even

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1. Report to the General Assembly, 1861. Vol. I, page 13.
2. Illinois Journal, January, 3d, 1861.
3. Chicago Tribune, March, 11th, 1861.
4. Illinois State Register, November, 17th, 1860.





refused to withdraw their support. This paper was finally denied the<sup>1</sup> privileges of the mails. The Pike County Democrat was also considered<sup>2</sup> as an open sympathizer with secession. It has frequently been said that that the Germans were strong Unionists and they were in the northern district, but where their personal interests were with the South they acted just as other people did under the same circumstances. The people of the central section took more than one way in expressing their belief in Secession. A petition, signed by Ira Smith and other leading citizens of Peoria, which was entrusted to Senator Trumbull to submit to the United States Senate, shows how many of these people felt toward slavery and secession in 1860 and 1861. It sets forth the principle that a great alienation of feeling exists between the people of the country on the subject of slavery, which is increasing, and is likely, unless something is done, to terminate in a permanent alienation of feeling between different sections of the Union." Therefore we petition that the Congress of the United States will recommend to the state Legislatures a change of constitution so as to establish a geographical line through all the territories of the United States north of which slavery shall be prohibited and south of which neither the states nor the Federal government shall at any time interfere<sup>3</sup> with the introduction of slavery. In the face of all these statements can we deny that the physiography of the central section of the State, the trade relations with the South and the blood relationship, had no part in shaping the ideas of these people more or less in favor of the South? Governor Yates was the strongest opponent, aside from Mr.

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1. Peoria Transcript, October, 15th, 1861.
2. Illinois State Journal, June, 29th, 1861.
3. Congressional Globe, 1860. Vol. II.



Lincoln, of secession in any form whatsoever.\*

There were some striking examples in this part of the State in 1860 and 1861 of strong sympathy for the South,\*\*even to the extent of personal assistance. On the nineteenth of April 1861, the Journal states that it was rumored that companies were secretly being raised to go to the aid of the South. This might seem a little overdrawn, but about a month later there appears another editorial in the same paper which tends to confirm this act last mentioned. It reads as follows: "There are a few men in this city(Springfield), not to exceed a dozen who if their names and speeches should get into the papers would be exalted above their fellow men and by their fellow citizens. Interested parties will please make a note of it." The inference from this bit of sarcasm is that such as sympathized with the South might be dealt with in a severe manner. Another instance of southern sympathy is reported by the Bloomington Pantagraph as being demonstrated at Lexington in Mc Lean County. A certain Dr. J. C. Whitehill of Lexington who was also a member of the volunteer company of that place, was found to be corresponding with certain leaders in the South, offering his services as a surgeon in the Rebel army. He was summoned to attend a meeting of the citizens of Lexington to give an account of himself.

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\* A Government that submits to peaceable secession signs its own death warrant. We draw the sword in self defense. Secession has brought about its inevitable results, and we must crush it and treason wherever they raise their unsightly heads, or perish ourselves. 3

\*\* The Illinois Journal states an instance of a certain prominent Democrat of Pittsfield, in Pike County who upon learning that some of the Quincy troops had been killed, expressed a desire that a similar fate would befall all Illinoisans who attempted to invade Missouri. A Republican suggested hanging the Democrat but it was seen that all the Democrats would stand pat and nothing further was attempted. 4

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1. Illinois State Journal, April, 19th, 1861.
2. ibid, May, 21st, 1861.
3. Journal of the Senate, 1861. Page 6.
4. Illinois State Journal, June, 29th, 1869.





He acknowledged the fact and produced the correspondence and made no self defense, but told them to do as they pleased with him. Many were for hanging him, but better counsel prevailed and Whitehill was given two days to leave the place. Although this incident did not occur within the bounds of the central district, as it is outlined, yet it is so near, that it is well to mention it here.

By 1861 Governor Yates was quite suspicious of some of the people of this section and the rest of the State and, "he recommended the passing of a law restraining the telegraph companies in the State from receiving and transmitting any messages, the object of which shall be to encourage a violation of the laws of this State or the United States." He had supposed that in January 1861 that coercion would be unnecessary, but in April he said, "I deem the passage of a well-digested militia law, the more necessary, as it seems to me, that the present levy of troops, which will soon pass under the control of the general Government, is insufficient to protect the State against threatened invasion and such commotions as usually follow in the train of war. I would recommend to keep an active militia force for some time at least."

Those who supported the Union in the central section may be divided into two classes; those who were office holders and were honorable enough to live up to their oaths and those who really had a love for the Federal Government. Governor Yates and Mr. Mc Clernand are two of the most prominent representatives of the first class. Governor

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1. Bloomington Pantagraph, May, 10th, 1861.
2. Senate Journal, 1861. Page 9.
3. *ibid.*
4. Reports to the General Assembly, 1861. Vol. I, page 12.



Yates said that the Union could not be dissolved by one state or by  
<sup>1</sup>  
 a dozen states, but only by revolution. In the early part of 1861 Mr.  
 Yates was very sanguine as to the attitude of the people especially  
 of the State as a whole, for he said "whatever may have been the divis-  
 ions of parties hitherto the people of Illinois will with one accord  
 give their assent and firm support to two propositions. First that  
 obedience to the Constitution and laws must be insisted upon and en-  
 forced. Second that the election of a chief magistrate of the nation  
 in strict conformity with the Constitution is no cause for the release  
<sup>2</sup>  
 of any state from its obligations to the Union." But before the end  
 of 1861 Governor Yates' attitude toward the central and southern sec-  
 tions of the State was changed, for in garrisoning the various points  
 in the State he was careful to send men from the northern section  
<sup>3</sup>  
 principally. He of course tried to justify his position on the ground  
 of immediate action,\* compliance with an order from the war depart-  
 ment and the rumor of a conspiracy to seize Cairo and the southern  
<sup>4</sup>  
 portion of the Illinois Central railroad. Mr. Mc Clermand in speaking  
 of loyalty to the Union said, "The sacred obligation of patriotism  
 would prompt even loyal citizens whether in the north or south to  
 defend and maintain the integrity of the Union and the authority of  
 its common Government against the inroads of violence. Not only the  
 universal allegiance of the citizens of the United States binds them

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\* "It was my desire that the honor of this service should have been  
 given to the patriotic citizens in that immediate vicinity; but as  
 these were not at that time organized and armed for patriotic duty,  
 and the necessity for speedy action was imperative, the requisition  
 was filled from companies previously tendered from other portions of  
 the State. 5

Respectfully, Richard Yates."

1. Journal of the Senate, 1861.
2. Reports to the General Assembly, 1861. Vol. I, page 14.
3. Journal of the Senate, 1861, et seq.
4. ibid, page 12.
5. Daily Journal, January, 22d, 1861.





to it but we and all other public officers, especially are solemnly<sup>1</sup> bound to it by our oaths. We can not afford it if we would."

The second class of unionists in the central section was not so numerous in the early part of 1861 as they were a little later. John Wood who was later appointed as one of the peace Commissioners from Illinois, to meet at Washington in February 1861, to discuss compromise, was a fair representative of the altruistic class of Unionists. He said before the Legislature, "I adopt the sentiment of President Jackson: the Federal Union must be preserved. To which sentiment I trust you will give formal and emphatic expression at the earliest possible day. Whatever may be our attachments to the locality in which we reside our first impulse of loyalty is to the Federal Union."<sup>2</sup> The Union cause was not as strongly advocated by the people in the central section in 1860 and 1861 as it was in 1862 and the years following. When the call came for men for three years of service or until the close of the war men from this section responded more readily than for the ninety day<sup>3</sup> call. The Union League which was organized in Tazewell County was first known in the early part of 1862. There was some popular demonstration of loyalty for the Union among the various counties of this section in 1860 and 1861 but they were more frequent after<sup>4</sup> the firing on Fort Sum ter.

The people of the central section of the State were in almost every case desirous of settling the dispute over the slavery and secession question in almost any other way than by armed force. Mr. Lincoln however was opposed to compromise if the North would have to

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1. Daily Journal, January, 22d, 1861.
2. Journal of the Senate, 1861. Page 27.
3. Report of the Adjutant-General, 1863.
4. Illinois State Journal, June, 17th, 1861.



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give up her moral convictions regarding slavery. There is, said he, in my judgment but one compromise which would really settle the slavery question and that would be a prohibition against acquiring of any more territory. I am for no compromise which assists or permits the extension of the institution on soil owned by the Nation. I take it that the effect some such result as this (extend slavery in national territory) and to put us again on the high road to a slave empire, is the object of all those proposed compromises." The Republican party on the whole stood opposed to compromise, but this was not the case with Republicans of this part of the State. Mr. Yates even wanted the matter peaceably adjusted,\* because he thought misapprehension of the sentiments of the North was the chief cause of the trouble and that if all parties would cordially unite this delusion could be explained away. However he did not want compromise carried to the extent of conceding slavery to be a blessing and that we must love and praise it and not even hope for its ultimate extinction. The bitter feeling of the northern Republicans toward compromise is seen from the opposition of the Republican press to Mr. Kellogg's speech in which he favored compromise. The Chicago Tribune said, "Kellogg's treachery is consummated today. The spectacle was sickening, to see an Illinoisan,

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\* "If the grievances to any portion of our confederation have arisen within the Union, let them be redressed within the Union. If unconstitutional laws, trenching upon guaranteed rights of any of our sister states, have found place upon our Statutes let them be removed, if prejudice and alienation towards any of our fellow-countrymen have fastened upon our minds let them be dismissed and forgotten. Let us be just to ourselves and each other, allowing neither threats to drive us from what we deem to be our duty, nor pride of opinion prevent us from correcting, where we have erred." 5

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1. Johnson, American Orations. Lincoln's Cooper Institute speech.
2. Nicolay and Hay, Lincoln. Vol. III, page 260.
3. Reports to the General Assembly, 1861. Vol. I, page 17.
4.       ibid, page 16.
5. Chicago Tribune, February, 4th, 1861.





a Republican, applauded and cheered on by Democrats and secessionists on the floor and in the galleries.<sup>1</sup> The Crisis, an Ohio paper, even went further and said that he owed it to the people of his district to resign his seat and return home,<sup>2</sup> but those who spoke thus were not situated as the Republicans whom Mr. Kellogg represented. It is true there were some of his constituents who were very much opposed to compromise but they were in the minority.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Stephen T. Logan represented before the Peace Commission at Washington in the most forceful manner the feeling of the majority of the people of the central section of the State toward compromise. He expressed a dread of the horrors and results of a war. He said: "It is a picture which we are doomed to see unless we place restraint upon our passions, forget our selfish interests and do something to save our country. We feel these things deeply in the border states. The people of these states bear the most intimate relations to each other. They are closely connected in business. They associate in their recreations and their pleasures. The members of a large number of their families have intermarried. State lines except for legislative purposes, are scarcely thought of. The people of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois are one people, having an identity of sympathy, of feeling and of interest. I wish to say a few earnest words to my brother Republicans. You object to these propositions because they are pressed just now when the new administration is coming into power. You say that there is no need of them and that they involve submission on your part as a condition of your enjoying the fruits of the victory you have won. The gentlemen from

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1. The Crisis, February, 14th, 1861.
2. Chicago Tribune, February, 23d, 1861.
3. Annual Cyclopaedia, 1861. Vol. I, page 367.



the southern states do not threaten. All they say is, 'if we cannot agree longer together, let us go in peace. We will fight only in self defense'. They ask us further, 'if we stay with you, how do you intend to treat us? As equals, or inferiors? If as inferiors, we cannot sustain ourselves with our people, saying nothing of our own self respect'. I acknowledge the force of these inquiries. If we intend to give the South the right she asks for, and as I think, rightly asks for, let us give it to her in plain and unequivocal language. Let us not give her a legacy of litigation, by using words which mean one thing or the opposite, according to the construction you place upon them. I wish to settle all these questions fairly. The amendment leaves the question as to what constitutes a legal status, to be decided by the court. The North would claim that there cannot be such a thing as a legal status, a legal condition of slavery. The South would claim the opposite." In conclusion Mr. Logan said "if we cannot induce Congress to submit our propositions of amendment to the people then I pray from my heart that our friends in every section will wait patiently until these propositions can go before the state Legislatures and receive proper consideration there."

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## C H A P T E R VII.

### IDEAS RESPECTING SLAVERY AND SECESSION IN SOUTHERN ILLINOIS.

In taking up a study of the current ideas of the people of the southern section of the State respecting slavery and secession in 1860 and 1861, it is well to consider first the physical conditions of the country and the social makeup of the people.

The whole of this section of the State lay below Mason and Dixon's line. The land was rooling, and would produce most any kind of vegetables and grain, and cotton as well, so that slavery from an economic point of view was just as profitable here as in Missouri, Kentucky and Maryland. Sorghum and cotton in Illinois raised below the fortieth parallel was of a better quality than that raised below the thirty-fifth parallel in Tennessee. The cotton crop in Illinois in 1860 varied between 300 and 500 pounds per acre and there were thousands of acres planted in 1861. This section was well supplied with good market places and reasonably accessible from all counties.

From the social side, southern Illinois was mainly peopled by inhabitants from the southern states and it was natural that they should bring with them the sentiments of the section from which they came, thus it was to be supposed that the ideas of the people of the southern section would be in sympathy with the South and its institutions.

There is no doubt but that the commercial and business relations which existed between these people and the South were the strongest ties which bound them to the side of the South, for the majority of

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these inhabitants had come from the poor class of whites and as they say, they were "agin the nigger". They had also learned that slave labor was not an economic saving, but their surplus wealth was invested in the southern states and their markets were south and they knew no other<sup>1</sup>. This was true to the extent that when St Louis and Cairo were closed against further trade, many of the people of this section sustained great losses, because of the lack of a market for their products. Mr. Mc Clermand urged that the Government pay the Illinois farmers for loss of the southern markets and that the Government buy heavily of their produce.<sup>2</sup> Alton, St Louis, Cairo, Vincennes, Cincinnati and Terre Haute, were all markets for southern Illinois, but St Louis was the largest. Some idea may be had as to the amount of the traffic carried on from a list of a few of the most common articles received at St Louis from Illinois in 1860.<sup>3</sup>

Flour, 1,824,121 bbls.  
 Wheat, 12,943,256 bushels.  
 Corn, 3,361,476 bushels.  
 Pork, 885,516 barrels.  
 Beef, 37,950 barrels.  
 Beef, 51,892 tierces.  
 Lard, 17,342,950 pounds.  
 Cut meats, 16,203,711 pounds.

The vast products from the southern section of the State and even from the other parts of the State could be brought to St Louis much more easily than to Chicago, because of the efficient transportation on the rivers, but after the panic of 1857 St Louis merchants became a little fearful that they could not dispose of all the products and and in that way Chicago was assisted in getting trade to come north.

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1. Missouri Republican, March, 20th, 1860 et seq.
2. Chicago Tribune, May, 28th, 1861.
3. Missouri Republican, January, 1st, 1861.





St Louis later lamented this fact.\* The desire for a continuation of the trade between the people of this southern district and the St Louis merchants was mutual. A letter from a customer will illustrate.

Rushville, Ill. May, 20th, 1861.

Dear Sir:-

Inclosed please find our draft, at sight, which you will please pass to our credit and receipt for the same. We are glad to see the clouds breaking that hung over Missouri. We hope you will foil the traitors and St Louis will still be our trading point, for be assured her business men have the best wishes of this part of Illinois and the merchants here do not want to go elsewhere if they can help it.

Yours truly,  
W.

The southern section of the State had furnished a majority of the governors, judges, United States Senators and many of the State officials up to 1858 and of course most of them were southern born or of southern descent. They had come to think of themselves as the controlling political power in the State and now that the northern section had surpassed them in political power there can be no doubt that a slight feeling of spite and contempt existed between the southern and northern sections. This section contained part or all, of four congressional districts, composed of forth-seven counties and was represented by James C. Ribinson of the seventh, Phillip B. Fouke of the eighth and John A. Logan of the nineth congressional districts. In 1860 there were only six counties in which Mr. Lincoln received major-

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\* The Missouri Democrat said "we may talk about southern trade and quarrel over the everlasting nigger but where does the pork, beef, beans, wheat, corn, oats, hay, horses, mules, eggs, butter and poultry that we consume here and send South come from? Illinois and Wisconsin and without these would not our southern trade be barren of profits? 2

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1. Missouri Democrat, May, 23d, 1861.

2. ibid, March, 2d, 1861.



ities varying from seven to two hundred and ten\* and the entire section was carried for Judge Douglas by about 28,000; besides Bell and Breckenridge received more votes than in either of the other sections. It by no means followed that the counties in which Mr. Lincoln did receive majorities were Republican, for had Douglas received the Bell and Breckenridge votes he would have carried three of the six by fair majorities and the other three would have been extremely close. The strictly partisan spirit showed itself very distinctly in almost every county in this section and wherever it was considered necessary to use illegal<sup>1</sup> means to carry the county or State ticket it was done<sup>2</sup> very deliberately.

There was no particular political centre in southern Illinois as there was in the central and northern sections, but St Louis was the register of the feeling of this part of the State and the Missouri Republican was the Democratic organ and the Missouri Democrat was the Republican organ. These were about all the daily papers that had any circulation here and only a very few of the Springfield and Chicago papers were to be seen even in the larger towns. Nearly every county however was maintaining one or more weekly papers. Although this section was overwhelmingly Democratic it is not to be understood that there was not enough opposition to bring out the strong southern sentiments of the people. The journalist A.P. Russel on arriving at Cairo,

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\* The official returns for the election of 1860 at Springfield in the Secretary of State's office gives the vote for Bond County to be Lincoln, 987; Douglas, 681 votes. But the official record of Bond County shows 987 votes for Lincoln and 980 for Douglas. The latter has been used rather than the former, because the Greenville Advocate has the vote inserted in the issue of the seventeenth of November 1860. It is in tabular form headed "official". The vote in 1858 shows one majority for the Republicans, the first time the county ever went Republican and it is not likely that there would be so great an increase in two years in a southern inland county. Similar errors have been found in the vote in Fayette and Madison Counties.

1. Chicago Tribune, October, 11th, 1860.

2. Greenville Advocate, Oct., 28th, 1858; Oct., 17th, 1861.





on the twentieth of June 1861, wrote the following in his diary: "The space of a few miles has completely altered the phases of thought and the forms of language. I am living among Abolitionists, cutthroats, Lincolnites, mercenaries, foreign invaders, assassins and plundering Dutchmen." John Alexander Logan was by far the most influential politician of this part of the State, having carried his district in 1860 by more than 18,000 majority.

The majority of the people of the southern section in 1860 and 1861 favored the extension of slavery wherever it was profitable and people wanted to carry it. Congressman Logan viewed the matter thus; "The territories were bought with the common blood and money by the common people and they are as free to the South as any other part of the country. The Constitution does not restrict carrying property of any description whatever upon that soil." There were many who held similar ideas regarding the extension of slavery.\*

The people of southern Illinois were loyal friends of the Fugitive Slave Law. Mr. Logan said: "Every fugitive that has been arrested in Illinois or in the western states - and I call Illinois a western state, for I am ashamed to call it longer a northern state - has been arrested by the Democrats." There were many Republicans however who were just as anxious to see the law enforced, because they did not want the negro in Illinois. The Missouri Democrat and the Alton

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\* Northern Democrats generally admit that (slavery) it is wrong, but still do all they can to encourage its extension. A few of them, however are more consistent. They say that slavery is a divine institution and ought to be upheld. 6

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1. Rhodes, Hist. of U.S. Vol. III, page 408. Taken from Mr. Russell's diary page 332. He was a resident of Columbus, Ohio.
2. Report of Secretary of State for 1860.
3. Congressional Globe, 1859. Vol. I, page 85.
4. ibid, page 85.
5. Missouri Democrat, November, 22d, 1860.
6. Greenville Advocate, October, 4th, 1860.



Telegraph for the seventeenth and the twenty-fifth of September, respectively, express strong sentiments favoring the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law. It was even desired that a clause be inserted in the Constitution proposed in 1862 definitely requiring this law to be enforced. Mr. Omelveny of Marion County submitted a clause to the Convention which required the Legislature to pass all laws that might<sup>1</sup> be needful for the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law. He submitted another clause which provided, that laws should be passed which would effectually prohibit free persons of color from emigrating to or settling in this State and also for the punishment of any person who should steal any slave and smuggle the same into this State or secrete the same on the soil of Illinois.<sup>2</sup> This was especially aimed at the Abolitionists who were beginning to be quite active in operating The Underground Railroad in the southern and central sections in 1861.

Most of the people were intensely pro-slavery. Many men in 1860 and 1861 said that if the Government undertook to free the negroes they would have to do it over their dead bodies. Free negroes were tolerated in this part of the State but they were often outraged by white men, either by refusing to pay them for their labor or by passing counterfeit money on them. Mr. F. M. Wollard\* told me of an incident which occurred in his neighborhood, of a white man forging a note on an industrious negro by the name of George Tan and sold it for face

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\* Mr. F. M. Wollard was born and raised in Bond County, Published the Carmi Times at Enfield in White County before the war and was well acquainted in southern Illinois. In 1862 he resided on a farm in Lawrence County. Mr. Wollard now resides at Fairfield and has during the past year been engaged in special research in the National Libraries at Washington, D.C.

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1. Journal of the Constitutional Convention, 1862. Page 615.
2.       ibid, page 216.





value and when Tan was sued for the note his white neighbors testified that it was a forged note and he was not held liable. This was truly an exceptional instance of justice shown by the white neighbors voluntarily testifying in favor of Tan. Another case of moderate treatment of a negro is cited by the Missouri Democrat. A negro belonging to Colonel Baldwin at Cairo assaulted one of the pantry girls at the St Charles. He was defended by certain parties and was taken before Esquire Shaunessy and fined five dollars and costs,"instead of being shot or strung up", said the Democrat. The latter was the usual treatment negroes received in this part of the State. All the papers of this part of the State in speaking directly of the negro always called him a 'nigger'. Many times strange negroes were captured and taken south and the inference was that they were sold into slavery. In a letter of M.M. Inman of Anna in Union County, to John Farnsworth dated the second of January 1860, he states that shortly after the Ottawa rescue, J.B. Jones, J. Kirtley and Alex. Mc Keeny caught a negro and kept him confined in Jones' house for several days. By and by, thinking that an owner could be found down the Mississippi sooner than in Anna, Mr. Kirtley got aboard the cars one morning before day with the negro in question; and whether he had to go all the way down to New Orleans to find an owner is not known, though he was gone some weeks before he returned. Mr. Inman gives another example of the illtreatment of negroes. "George Elems and Daniel Bartlet committed an assault and battery on a negro by the name of George. They knocked him in the head with a stone, then brought him to town and confined him in the back of James Sone's liquor-shop and kept him there from

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Tuesday to Thursday the week after, except what time they had him working on the streets. Elems sold his right in the negro to Jones for a yoke of oxen and a wagon and Jones was to pay half of the expenses that Elems and Bartlet had been to. Jones refused to pay any part of the expenses and Elems brought suit against Jones for the amount. Jones employed John Dougherty as his attorney and he told Elems that if he made Jones pay the money he would prosecute Elems<sup>1</sup> and Bartlet. The matter was compromised and dropped.

M. Bartley a delegate to the Convention of 1862 from Gallatin County, submitted resolutions to the Convention, to be inserted in the Constitution, whereby the Legislature would have the power to prohibit free negroes from coming into the State.<sup>2</sup> He also proposed that at any time any body of counties desired to remove all negroes from their limits, they could do so by a two-thirds vote of the people and by paying such negroes a reasonable price for their real estate, if they<sup>3</sup> had any. Isaac Leith of Effingham submitted a resolution in which he expressed a desire to prohibit any transfers of real estate to negroes.<sup>4</sup> These evidences of the people's ideas toward slavery in 1860 and 1861 are only a few of those that might be enumerated.

The feeling prevailed generally in 1860 and 1861 that the southern portion of Illinois stood with the southern states and that whatever policy the South adopted would be co-operated in by the former.<sup>5</sup> Mr. Douglas recognized this as early as 1858 when he propounded

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1. Congressional Globe, 1860. Page 566.
2. Journal of the Convention, 1862. Page 38.
3.       ibid, page 75.
4.       ibid, page 85.
5. Danville Review, Vol. I, page 309.





certain questions to Mr.Lincoln at Ottawa in order that he might use<sup>1</sup> Mr.Lincoln's answers in the debate at Jonesboro. The Legislature realized this situation and on the eighteenth of April 1861, John M. Palmer, Mason Brayman, Hall Wilson and John A. Mc Clernand were appointed as a committee to go to Cairo and to other points in this section, to ascertain the condition of public sentiment with regard to the rebellion. They reported that Cairo was favorable to the proposition, that it should be treated as a neutral city where all parties should<sup>2</sup> buy and sell at their discretion. The matter being left so that these people could trade with the South was exactly what they wanted and could they have continued their trade relations with as much success as before there would have been much less hatred for the North. A few days later however when the troops were sent to be stationed there, matters presented a different appearance. Upon the landing of the troops the people were greatly excited. The city Mayor at once advised the officers that their presence was not necessary for either the peace or defense of the place. The commanding officer informed him, that he must obey orders and should remain. This did not satisfy the people of Cairo however and it was necessary to send a detachment of two or three hundred men up the railroad track a few miles to protect the<sup>3</sup> bridges, which were threatened by some of the populace.

There were many people of the southern section and especially in the counties along the northern border, line that felt that it would be a great calamity to have the Union dissolved and doubted whether

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1. Lincoln and Douglas Debates, August, 21st, 1858. Page 86.
2. Personal Recollections of J.M. Palmer. Page 91.
3. Missouri Democrat, April, 25th, 1861.



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it could be done The people of the counties farther south felt differently and in Williamson County they actually passed secession resolutions.\* The resolutions were passed at a public meeting held in the court house and there was only one dissenting vote and that was by J.F.Benson. While this was the only county that really went so far as to pass secession resolutions there were others that were in full sympathy with this one. John Palmer relates an incident which shows that there was, in the mind of some of the legislature, from this section, a scheme whereby southern Illinois could secede and go with the South.\*\* Could such a proposition have been voted on by the people of southern Illinois, before Douglas made his last speech in Springfield, it would no doubt have carried. The ideas of the people of the southern section regarding secession, did not have to take the definite form of secession resolutions, however, for them to show their sympathy

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\* "Resolved: - that we, the citizens of Williamson County, firmly believing, from the distracted condition of our country - the same being brought about by the elevation to power of a strictly sectional party, the coercive policy of which toward the seceded states will drive all the border slave states from the Federal Union. And cause them to join the Southern Confederacy. Resolved, that in that event, the interest of the citizens of southern Illinois imperatively demands at their hands a division of the State. We hereby pledge ourselves to use all means in our power to effect the same, and attach ourselves to the Southern Confederacy. Resolved, that in our opinion, it is the duty of the present administration to withdraw all the troops of the Federal Government that may be stationed in southern forts, and acknowledge the independence of the Southern Confederacy, believing that such a course would be calculated to restore peace and harmony to our distracted country." 2

When pressure was brought to bear on the Williamson County people they repealed their resolutions of secession but not willingly.  
\*\* "April, 22d, 1861. I was on my way from Cairo to Springfield when I met a few members of the Legislature on their way to the special session to convene. 3

April, 23d, 1861. Soon after I came on the train, one member of the Legislature handed me a scheme which proposed the division of the State on the line of the National road which passed through Vandalia and permitting the south part of the State to join the Confederacy. I told him he would find himself in jail if he urged such a scheme seriously."

1. Greenville Advocate, December, 20th, 1860.

2. Erwin, History of Williamson County. Page 258.

3. Personal recollections of J.M. Palmer, Page 91.





for the South. There were a number of ways in which they expressed their loyalty for the South and it is these that we shall consider next.

There was a statute\* passed in 1861 by the Legislature against traitors and the penalty for violation of the same was attached; but the people of this section did not fear this law very much when it was to be administered at the hands of their partisan friends. Between April and August there were many in this section who were arrested<sup>1</sup> for treasonable acts,\*\*either by officers of the army,<sup>2</sup> State officers or Federal officers. There were some acts which indicate a strong desire for armed resistance. This is especially shown in the case of the fortifying of the Big Muddy bridge near Carbondale. On the arrival of the troops at that place, the people near there were greatly aroused and spies were sent to ascertain their forces, location and equipment,<sup>3</sup> but they were frightened when they saw the cannon. No doubt if they had been organized, they would have attacked the troops. It

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\* Section, I. "Any person who shall within this State levy war against the United States Government or being an adherent to the enemies of the United States shall by some overt act give them aid, advice or comfort, shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be imprisoned in the penitentiary for a term not less than one nor more than twenty-five years and pay a fine of not less than five hundred nor more than ten thousand dollars; which fine shall be a lien on all the real and personal property of the person so convicted, from the date of the incident, or from the date of the arrest, if arrested before indictment." 4

\*\* On or about the fourteenth of August 1862, A.D. Duff, W.J. Allen, A.P. Corder, John Clemison and A.C. Nelson were all arrested by United States officers and taken to Cairo, where they were kept about three weeks and then taken to Washington and kept in the old Capitol prison for nearly three months and then turned loose without trial. These parties were charged with making Rebel speeches; with belonging to the Knights of the Golden Circle and stirring up sedition and treason. 5

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1. Missouri Democrat, June, 10th, 1861.

2. Chicago Tribune, June, 7th, 1861.

3. ibid, April, 25th, 1861.; Erwin, Hist. of Williamson Co. Page 263.

4. Laws of Ill., 1861. 5. Erwin, Hist. of Williamson Co. Page 275.



was considered by Colonel Prentiss, then stationed at Cairo, to be a critical time and he sent reenforcements of men and arms. Again when John A. Mc Clernand sent a despatch to John M. Cunningham of Marion, in Williamson County, asking him to assist in raising a brigade of soldiers, he consulted his friends regarding the matter and then refused to co-operate.

In many counties of this section in the latter part of 1861, companies of Home Guards were raised to protect the property and lives of the people against desperate characters who took advantage of the situation to gratify their avarice and hatred. Such an organization was formed a few miles north-west of Greenville, in Bond County. They adopted a constitution and passed resolutions which was according to custom. All seemed to be all right; but a little later it was found that secret resolutions had been passed, one of which provided that the organization was not extended to the service of the Government, even in case of necessity. It also provided that any person offending against their lives or property should be dealt with by five committeemen, appointed by them instead of turning such offenders over to the court. Although nothing serious came from this, yet it shows that the sympathy was strong in favor of the South. A letter from a certain Mr. Mc Lean to the editor of the Bloomington Pantagraph, shows how intense the feeling for the South was at the opening of the war. It reads as follows:

Jonesboro, Ill. April, 13th, 1861.

Messrs Editors:-

I write you from the heart of Egypt. The news of the attack on

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1. Erwin, History of Williamson County. page 274.
2. Greenville Advocate, September, 19th, 1861.
3. Weekly Pantagraph, April, 24th, 1861.





Sum ter which arrived in town this afternoon, has been read on the street corners and caused something of a hubub. Just now a brass band with the accompaniment of a large amount of bass drum has celebrated the supposed success of the secessionists. They played a number of tunes; but not one of them was Star Spangled Banner or Yankee Doodle. In a county where the Democratic vote was 1800 to a Republican vote of some seventy and where nearly all these Democrats are Buchanan or Breckenridge Democrats, no great amount of sympathy with the United States Government can be expected. The display of Confederate emblems, the wearing of "Copper-Head" badges and huzzahs for Jeff. Davis, were no uncommon occurrence. In some places the Union flag was insulted by being removed from public buildings and torn into shreds. Still another indication of how much faith the people of southern Illinois had in the cause of the South is seen from an article contributed to the Mobile Advertiser on the thirteenth of April 1861, by Ex-Governor Reynolds of Illinois, in which he says, "I am exceedingly well pleased with the virtue and intelligence of the people-sustaining so fully and effectually the proceedings of your Confederate Congress and the approval of the permanent Constitution. Nothing makes me so proud and so happy as to see the brave independent people of the South cast away forever the tyranny and oppression of Abolition fanatics of the North."

The secret order of the Knights of the Golden Circle was thoroughly organized in this part of the State by 1860 and 1861, although there was not so much known of their activities. Before the close of the

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1. Weekly Pantagraph, April, 24th, 1861.
2. Chicago Tribune, June, 3d, 1861.  
Weekly Pantagraph, April, 19th, 1861. Mr. Mc Lean from Sandoval to Editor
3. Testimony of J.A. Cousley, Editor of the Alton Telegraph.
4. Alton Telegraph, May, 17th, 1861.
5. Chicago Tribune, April, 20th, 1861.



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War they became a military organization. In the early part of 1862 they were being anticipated in some of their attempts to control State<sup>2</sup> affairs.\* This organization was quite instrumental in silencing many loyal men by intimidation; threatening life, burning barns and grain<sup>3</sup> stacks, slaughtering hogs, sheep and cattle. John A. Logan goes a step further and says of the Order: "Certain United States officers who had made arrests of deserters, in Illinois, were themselves arrested for kidnapping and held for trial by a disloyal judge, who at the same<sup>4</sup> time discharged the deserters, though acknowledging them to be such. The oath required of the members, reveals quite clearly the real \*\*

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\* The following resolution was passed by the Convention of 1862: "That if any member of the Convention be found guilty of corresponding with the southern Confederacy or having been connected with the Knights of the Golden Circle, they shall be expelled." 5

\*\* First Oath: "I do now trust and solemnly promise and swear that I will not reveal any word, either of what I am about to receive, except it be some true and faithful brother of this order, and not unto him or them, until after strict examination, I shall have found him or them as justly entitled to the same as myself, am about to be, under the no less penalty of having my body severed in four parts; the first part cast out at the north gate, the second part cast out at the south gate, the third part at the east and the fourth part at the west gate. I furthermore promise I will always hail and answer all signs and signals that are given me by a brother of this order, if in my power to do so, and I furthermore promise and swear that I will protect and defend all Constitutional Democrats, their lives, property and personal liberty from mob violence during this southern insurrection, so long as they obey the laws of the United States of America, let it come from whatever source it may; this obligation to be binding on me as long as the war shall last."

Second Oath: "And I further promise and swear in the presence of Almighty God and the members of the Golden Circle, that I will not rest or sleep until A. Lincoln, now President shall be removed out of the presidential chair, and I will wade in blood up to my knees, as soon as Jefferson Davis sees proper to march with his armies to take the city of Washington and the White House, to do the same." 6

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1. Logan, The Great Conspiracy. Page 762.
2. Journal of the Convention of 1862. Page 410.
3. Personal Correspondence of F.M. Willard.
4. Logan, The Great Conspiracy. Page 769.
5. Journal of the Convention of 1862. Page
6. Central Illinois Gazette, November, 6th, 1861.





character of the organization. Their headquarters were in Union County where they regularly assembled in a large cave. Their work was carried on under the cover of night and it was almost impossible to know just who was engaged. Mr. Wollard states that in Lawrence County, where he lived, these men would neighbor with the Union men and southern sympathizers alike and at night they would ride past the Union men's houses and shoot at them for the purpose of intimidating them. The Missouri Democrat infers that the Order included a large number of members, judging from the excitement which was created in 1861 when the United States troops passed through Mc Leansboro and Fairfield, and arrested eleven of the Grand Lights of the Circle.<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult to ascertain just how many people at this period held tenaciously to the principles of the South, but judging from conservative estimates made by reliable men it would seem that about twenty percent of the people in southern Illinois were in full sympathy with the South.<sup>2</sup> \* No one will ever know how many went from southern Illinois into the Confederate army. But according to the St Louis papers there were some crossing over the line and joining the Confederate ranks every few days, from April to November in 1861. The

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\* General Scott cites the following incident: "The post-master at Olney, Dr. Cullen, learned that company "D" 8th Illinois, had organized and gone to Springfield and he wrote a letter to the post-master at Memphis telling him, that he suspected when that were mustered out, they would be sent to Memphis. He said 'be on the look out for them and I hope to God you shoot every one of them in the back'. The mails on the boats going south were cut off and this letter was opened by United States officers and it was later sent back to Olney to a citizen and I saw it."

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1. Missouri Democrat, November, 4th, 1864.

2. Personal letters of the late deceased Adjutant-General Scott of Springfield who lived at Olney in 1860 and was in Company "D" 8th Ill. Letters from Judge J.C. Allen of Olney, then Circuit Judge.



culmination of this agitation finally came, when on Saturday the twenty-fifth of May 1861, a company of thirty-five men mustered from Marion and Carbondale, went to Mayfield, Kentucky and joined company "G" 115th<sup>1</sup> regiment of Tennessee. The Missouri Democrat, commenting on this, said: "The poor ignorant men were carried away by excitement, little knowing that they were sold, which they were, by their captain in Memphis, Tennessee, for seven dollars per head. The leaders of the conspiracy were cautious enough, as they thought, not to risk themselves on this bloody<sup>2</sup> mission."

The question immediately arose, as to who was chargeable with these men going into the Confederate army. This occurred in John Logan's district and as he had wielded so strong an influence over his constituents, politically, it was thought that he was the chief instigator. Logan was not at all in favor of taking up arms against the South to free the negroes, for he said, about the middle of April 1860, between the fifteenth and the twenty-seventh, that he would suffer his tongue to cleave to the roof of his mouth and his right arm to wither and fall paralyzed by his side, before he would take up arms against his<sup>3</sup> southern brethren, unless it was to sustain the government, so the question hinges on, whether he was loyal to the Union or not. It is so frequently said, that if he were false to the Union in 1860, he fully atoned for it, in the estimation of the public, by his later heroic and valuable career, but this should not figure in the case, from the historical standpoint. Logan's war career is well known and all admire that,

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1. Erwin, History of Williamson County. Pages 265 et seq.

2. Missouri Democrat, May, 30th, 1861.

3. Erwin, History of Williamson County. Page 261.





but in 1860 and before the twentieth of July 1861, was he loyal to the Union? It is said by those who defend Mr. Logan, that the charges are made by his enemies, that he was in Congress when these men from the southern section went into the Confederate army, that he boldly denied these charges of disloyalty in the face of his accusers and that southern Democrats said, that he had always been loyal. All these statements are true in a sense, but let us notice. General Grant was in Springfield with his regiment in September, 1861. Logan happened to be there also and was introduced to Grant, whereupon he was asked if Mr. Logan might address his regiment. He was granted the request, but this is what Grant says he thought, "it was but a few days before the time set for mustering into the service for three years and I had some doubt as to the effect a speech from Logan might have." General Grant also said, that the intense sympathy of Logan's constituents for the South and Logan's great popularity in such a district had some connection. The Illinois Journal said, that Logan discoursed eloquently on the duty of all patriots to sustain the Government in its efforts to vindicate the Constitution." This is good. It is what Logan ought to have done long since. It is what every consideration of honest patriotism ought to have prompted him to say in his own district to his own constituents when his words would have done some service to the cause of his country. Instead, however, he aided and abetted treason by his stolid silence and permitted the minions of Jefferson Davis to organize soldiers in his own territory for their unholy war upon the Constitution. He also stayed away from the Union meetings in southern Illinois when public sentiment down there needed to be cultivated, and

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1. Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant. Vol. I, page 245.

2.       ibid, page 244.



too he even outraged the Constitution himself by refusing to define his position until his constituents openly denounced him as a traitor<sup>1</sup> and requested him to resign his seat in Congress." In an earlier issue of the Journal, the editor comments on a letter from Logan to J.A. Hayne of Cairo thus: "In the opening paragraph you say 'the happiness and prosperity we have so long enjoyed under the shield of the Constitution, is about to be buried in the infamous dug by the hand of sectional fanaticism' and then you go on to comment about the election of Lincoln, calling him a strictly sectional candidate and imputing to his election all the troubles in which our country is involved and aggravating those evils to the utmost extent of your powers of oppression, by your persistent misrepresentations of the sentiments of the North, and the designs of the Republican party you have given to the dis-union leaders of the South the false basis from which they have acted upon the passions and prejudices of the people there and wrought them up to the phrenzied state which you pretend to deplore." These<sup>2</sup> are the testimonies of a friendly organ, for later the Journal spared no means in eulogizing Logan's services. An incident is cited by the Chicago Tribune which shows clearly the spirit that dominated Logan. Two men by the name of George and Abe Sellers, who had worked one season in the Advocate office, had gone to Benton, in Franklin County, and had taken charge of a Democratic local paper and were going to change the politics to Republican. A mob headed by "Dirty Work" Logsn, a member of Congress, swore they should not publish a Lincoln paper in Benton, and compelled them to sell out at a great sacrifice or have

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1. Illinois State Journal, June, 20th, 1861.

2. ibid, February, 15th, 1861.





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their press destroyed. None of these have been enemies of Logan and yet their statements of the facts are the same as those presented by the supposed enemies.

It was reported that James D. Pulley and Mc Campbell assisted the men who went into the Confederate army. A short time afterwards, Pulley was arrested and taken to Springfield, for trial. A certain A.P. Corder, a citizen of Carbondale, learned this and he immediately went to Marion, told what he heard and intimated that they were coming after Logan also. That caused great excitement among Logan's <sup>2</sup> friends. In 1866 John Wheatley, one of the soldiers who went into the Confederate army, filed an affidavit in Cairo in which he said, that he was personally advised to join this company by John A. Logan and that he left Williamson County with the company and went with them as far as Paducah and then left them promising to return. Another affidavit was made by <sup>3</sup> W.M. Davis, another of the company, at Equality, in which he states that he joined this company under the advice of John A. Logan. Judge E.F. Armstrong of Shawneetown writes that he takes from his Diary and Scrap book the following account of this affidavit. A.M. Lusk who was editor of the Mercury at Equality said, "Davis' affidavit was a --- lye" and Davis gave him a pounding and when Davis was fined twenty dollars the belief was so strong that the affidavit was true that he and other <sup>4</sup> citizens contributed sixty cents each and paid his fine. Mr. Wollard tells me that he met one of the company whom Logan was accused of

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1. Chicago Tribune, September, 10th, 1860  
Greenville Advocate, September, 13th, 1860. The Advocate states that they received their information from a personal letter from Abe Sellers.  
Personal testimony of George Richards of Warsaw, Missouri.
2. Erwin, History of Williamson County. Page 270.
3. ibid, page 267.
4. Diary and Scrap Book of E.F. Armstrong.



sending South, in Kentucky in 1884 and all he could say for certain, was that, "they told us that Logan would follow and command the regiment as soon as it could be raised.<sup>1</sup>"

As to the statement that Logan's accusers never would face him, when he denied their statements; this much must be conceded that the attack of Judge Mulkey, of Salem serves as, at least, one exception.<sup>2</sup> Logan made his strong plea for his defense in 1861, before the United States Senate, but he fails to clear himself beyond question, for the period from the beginning of 1860 to the twentieth of July 1861. It was Logan's aim to strike terror to all whom he thought he could and that is one reason why many men who knew of Logan's acts kept still before him. Judge J.C. Allen of Olney says that it was generally talked in 1861, that the United States marshall came to Logan with an order for his arrest in one hand and a commission in the army in the other and he chose the latter.<sup>4</sup>

An incident of great interest concerning General Logan comes to me through the kindness of Professor Woolard which I think reveals the real character of Logan. So far as I have been able to ascertain, it has never appeared in print. It occurred at Enfield, White County in 1860, when Logan was a candidate for reelection to Congress, during the "Fire Eating" portion of his career. There were but few Republicans in that section of the State at that date, and it required no little courage on the part of a man, at that period, to openly announce himself as such. In that vicinity lived a young man by the name of Tom Markum. Markum was of a robust and distinct individuality and character;

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1. Personal Correspondence of F.M. Wollard.
2. Personal Letter of Attorney T.E. Merritt, Salem, Ill.
3. Congressional Globe, 1881, Vol. I.
4. Personal Letter from Judge Allen, Olney, Ill.





fearless, outspoken and honest regardless of consequences. These characteristics evidently rendered him immune from assault, and contributed to his safety, where more timid men would hesitate to venture or express their sentiments. There were, probably, not a dozen Republicans living in that vicinity, but Markum was there, as he would express it 'in full force'. Logan during his speech, came down with one of those wild, unsupported, equivocal statements, so common at that time. Markum, who stood, paying strict attention, surrounded by Logan's followers, spoke out in a firm, distinct voice, saying "That is a damned lie, sir". Logan looked at him with his fierce, penetrating, dark eyes, as few men could have done, but said nothing in reply, to the great surprise of all present. He evidently read and sized up the young man thoroughly, while Markum stood facing him, unflinchingly. Logan was elected and when the war came on Markum answered the first call for volunteers and did full duty as a patriot soldier until the end of the conflict. Logan entered the army also, commanding a regiment. One day when he, with his army, was encamped in front of the works at Vicksburg, during a lull in the conflict, while he was standing at the door of his tent young Tom Markum, then a real veteran, as he was strolling across the field, came suddenly in front of him. Logan looked sharply at him and then peremptorily ordered him 'come in here sir'. Markum, realizing the meaning of a command from a superior officer readily complied with the mandate. Inside of the tent Logan said, "see here sir, ain you the man that gave me the the damned lie at Enfield in 1860?" Markum saluted, and without a quiver answered, "Yes sir". "Well" said Logan, "it was a damned lie". Mr. Wollard says that Logan told this incident to a prominent judge of southern Illinois and declared that he had never been so badly taken



down in his life."

General Logan was really a strong politician and there seems to be little doubt, that his sympathies and influence were on the side of the Confederacy until the battle of Bull's Run, when he caught sight of the trend of affairs and realized his opportunity, and fortunately it was for Illinois and the Nation. His change, although he had great influence over men, could not however restore the financial losses of the people of southern Illinois and consequently large numbers still stood by the South. By his attitude, Logan not only did injustice to the Union cause but he lost much of his influence, for the people felt that he had deceived them.

The ideas of the people of this section, regarding compromise were especially in harmony with the Douglas plan. They considered that plan as the only one that could lay claim to any degree of statesmanship. They thought that the others were formed to square with previously<sup>1</sup> elaborated theories, rather than with existing difficulties. Many however, in the early part of 1861, felt that if the Union cause won, their trade would be lost and besides they would loose all the money had invested in southern bonds and their hope was war and a victory for the confederacy. A reference from the Alton Telegraph expresses the views of that class on compromise. "Compromise; this accursed word is again in the newspapers, and some few professed Union men are advocating a settlement of our difficulties with rebels and traitors by compromise. In the name of all that is sacred and sensible, what have we got to compromise."<sup>2</sup>

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1. Missouri Democrat, January, 1st, 1861.
2. Alton Telegraph, June, 28th, 1861.





Although the sentiment had been almost entirely with the South, in most counties of this section, yet there were those who were quietly standing for the Union and awaiting an opportunity to put in practice their beliefs, but by the time the opportunity had come, even the most firm believers in the Union, began doubting whether it could be preserved. There were those, in certain parts of this section in 1860 who preferred to stand for the Union, however, regardless of party, but they were people who lived quite near the northern border and were from the eastern states. Very soon after the firing on Sumter, these people with such others as could be gathered together, had formed themselves into Home Guards and were actually drilling for the service in case they were needed. Quite a large number of men were coming to feel that they had been deceived in the matter of the slavery and secession issue and at a Union meeting, held in Massac County, it was recommended that Lincoln have Ex-President Buchanan hung. In some counties it was reported that even some of the "Silent men" were not true. As a result of this, Union meetings were held to ascertain just how much force they really did possess.

A laboring man in southern Illinois propounded the following questions to the Missouri Democrat: (1) Have seceding states the right to petition the Government on account of their greivances and have any done so? (2) Is there no remonstrance? (3) In case of establishing a southern Confederacy, are the financial interests of the

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1. Greenville Advocate, January, 10th, 1861.
2.       ibid, November, 14th, 1861.
3.       ibid, June, 20th, 1861.
4. Chicago Tribune, February, 14th, 1861.
5. Alton Telegraph, May, 31st, 1861.



border states so identical with secession states, as to require them to unite with the southern Confederacy and what will be the effect on markets? (4) What will secession do for the property value? (5) How will it effect mechanics and laborers? <sup>1</sup> This shows why some people were interested as they were and also that they desired to know what the consensus of opinion was so that they might act accordingly.

When the news of the firing on Sumter came and the call for troops was made and Judge Douglas was supporting the administration so nobly, the Democrats of this section of the State, were the most outspoken and were really the leaders in declaring for the Union, the "Union as it is, right or wrong".

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1. Missouri Democrat, January, 8th, 1861.





## C H A P T E R VIII.

### CONCLUSION.

Now that war had really come to the country over the slavery and secession question, the majority in Illinois was ready to support the Union at first as well as at last. She filled her quota of volunteers and had men to spare and to each succeeding call she responded nobly and could always have sent more men and given more money if it had been needed. Over 10,000 men tendered their services within ten days after the call had been made,<sup>1</sup> and many, because they could not enter the service in Illinois, went to Missouri and Kentucky and entered there, so that at the beginning of 1862 there were almost as many men<sup>2</sup> in the service from Illinois in other states as there were in Illinois. Illinois demanded the right to her full share of preserving our glorious<sup>3</sup> Union and although there were ninety-six who deserted in 1861, most of whom were from the central and southern sections, this was comparatively small. These two sections just mentioned vied with the northern section in the patriotic work of furnishing troops.<sup>4</sup> The noblest men in the Democratic as well as the Republican party, forgot their political defeats\* and stepped to the front in defense of the

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Peoria, Ill. April, 22d, 1861.

\*

To Governor Yates:-

With your permission I will raise a regiment of 1000 men to be ready on call. Will you accept?

Robert G. Ingersoll. 5

Mr. Ingersoll was a Democrat and had been lately defeated as a candidate for Congress. He later raised and mustered into the service the eleventh Illinois Cavalry.

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1. Annual Report of the Adjutant General, 1861-1862.. Page 11.

2.           ibid, page 62.

3.           ibid, page 25.

4.           ibid, page 55.

5. Bloomington Pantagraph, April, 27th, 1861.



country. Many who had left their homes at an hour's notice, to enter the service of their country, wept because of the disappointment of being refused admission to their companies on muster day.<sup>1</sup>

The following account tabulated from the Adjutant-General's reports for 1861 to 1866 shows the number of those in the service from Illinois and also the number that lost their lives:<sup>2</sup>

Total number in the service..... 225,300

Infantry.....	185,941
Cavalry.....	32,082
Artillery.....	7,277

Killed in battle..... 5,874

Died of wounds..... 4,020

Died of disease..... 22,786

Other causes..... 2,154

This gives one some idea of what it meant to those who believed the Union cause was right. These figures show only the loss of life, but the expenditure of money and the destruction of property and the loss of trade were inestimable. Illinois' part of the war debt alone, for 1861, was about \$5,000,000.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Annual Report of the Adjutant-General, 1861-1862. Page 16.
  2. Report of the Adjutant-General for 1861-1866. Vol. I, page 151.
  3. Annual Cyclopedic, Vol. I, 1861. Page 369.
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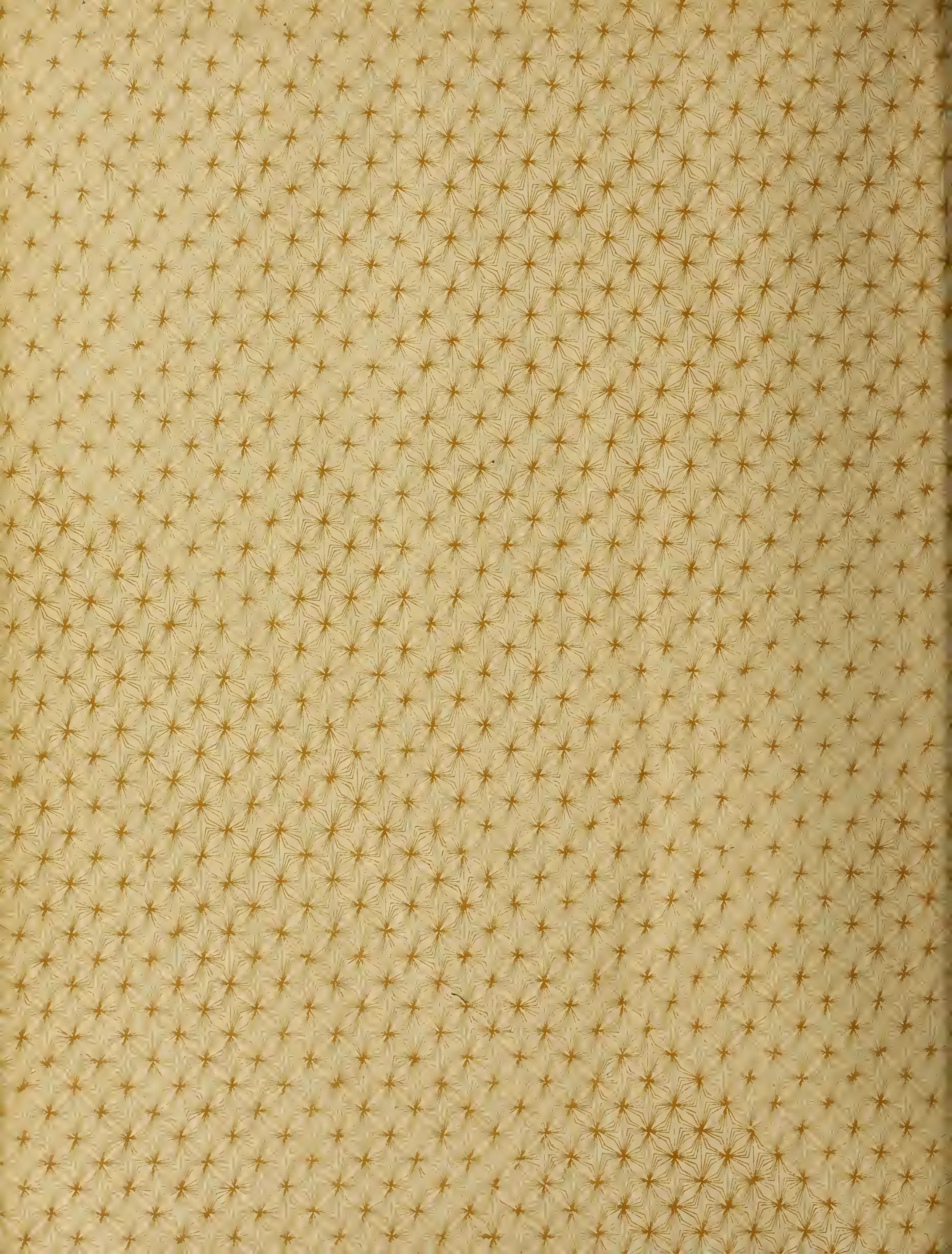
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